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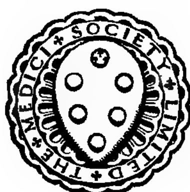
(After the copy of the wall painting in the Ajanta Caves, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Indian Section)

ANTIQUITIES OF INDIA

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF ANCIENT HINDUSTAN

BY LIONEL D. BARNETT, M.A., LITT.D.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS AND A MAP



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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is to present within a moderate compass a general survey of the history and culture of ancient India. It therefore begins with an outline of the historical changes through which India has passed from the earliest days down to the beginning of the thirteenth century, and thence proceeds to sketch the conditions of society as revealed by literature and the monuments, the constitution and administration of the State, the chief religious rituals, the nature of the scientific knowledge possessed by the ancient Hindus, their systems of weights, measures, and coinage, their writing, and their achievements in architecture, sculpture, and painting. The scope of the work has made it impossible to attain completeness, and much has been omitted which should find a place in a perfect picture of Indian life. For example, private life, war, the arts of industry, the culture of the Dravidian and other non-Aryan races, the great religious movements, and much else have been barely touched.[1] For this omission, as for many errors of commission, I crave the reader's indulgence. At least I have within these limits spared no pains in the attempt to hold up the mirror to this vast and wonderful culture, which is so manifold in its sources and yet so strangely original in its spirit. The record of Indian history is one of deepest fascination, and the utmost imaginations of romance pale

[1] I take this opportunity to add a note as a succedaneum for an exposition of two omitted topics. The subject of dress in the pre-Christian era is discussed in Sir A. Cunningham's *Stûpa of Bharhut*, pp. 31–40, and Mr. C. V. Vaidya's *Epic India*, pp. 139–155; and the most important source for our knowledge of the military art in ancient India, apart from literary references, is the *Kauṭilīya Artha-śāstra*, chs. 9–13, and its commentary.

beside it. Indeed, the civilisation of India may be fitly compared to its marvellous temples, in which every emotion of the soul is expressed in plastic form with thrilling intensity; and as often as I read it I remember the verse of Bhartṛi-hari, the epitaph of its glories: "Alas, brother, the mighty king, the train of barons, the witty court at his side, the damsels with faces like the moon's orb, the haughty troop of princes, the minstrels, the tales—homage to Time, by whose will all this hath passed into mere memories!"

In preparing the chronology I have drawn chiefly upon the documentary material collected in *Epigraphia Indica*, the *Chronology of India* of Mrs. Rickmers, and Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, besides other works. On the subject of architecture, sculpture, and painting, the student may be referred to the works of Fergusson (especially the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd edition, 1910), the publications of the Archæological Survey of India, Mr. V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, and the books of Sir M. Aurel Stein and the German explorers to whom the sands of Turkestan have yielded up their long-buried treasures. As regards the remaining chapters, I am heavily indebted to the *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, founded by Georg Bühler and now edited by Professors Lüders and Wackernagel, in which the student will find full bibliographies. My obligations naturally go far beyond the works in this list; in fact, "I know not the numbers thereof."

My debts to friends for counsel and help are heavy. Foremost is my obligation to Dr. J. F. Fleet, who has with unwearying generosity read and revised most of the proof sheets, and enabled me to profit in a hundred ways from his learning and experience, and to my colleague, Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, to whom this book owes its origin. Among the others whose aid I

acknowledge with gratitude are Sir George Grierson, Sir Aurel Stein, Dr. Hoernle, and Messrs. J. Allan, F. H. Andrews, M. Longworth Dames, T. A. Joyce, and F. E. Pargiter. To Sir Aurel Stein's offices I am indebted for the permission kindly granted by the Secretary of State for India to reproduce some of the plates from *Ancient Khotan*; and in the same connection I have to record the courtesy of Messrs. W. Griggs & Co., who lent me the negatives of those plates, and of the Clarendon Press. Lastly, I would offer my thanks to the India Society and its secretary, Mr. A. H. Fox-Strangways, who have generously allowed me to reproduce as a frontispiece one of their copies of the paintings of Ajanta, which forms part of a set that they are about to publish.

L. D. B.

August, 1913

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Sandstone figure of Brahma (about 11th century)
from the British Museum

Antiquities of India

CHAPTER I

OUTLINES OF THE EARLY HISTORY AND CIVILISATION OF INDIA

I.—*The Age of the Vēda*

IN India there is no twilight before the dawn. In the darkness the eastern sky suddenly flushes, and the ruddy edge of the morning sun swiftly leaps upon the horizon. And it is so with the history of the great people which has led the van of Indian culture. They have left no record of slow and painful struggle onwards through lessening darkness of barbarism towards the light of civilisation. The earliest thing that we know of them is their Ṛig-vēda and the culture to which the Ṛig-vēda bears testimony. And this culture is already strong, rich in potentiality, typically Indian.

The Ṛig-vēda is a collection of 1017 hymns, supplemented by 11 others termed *vālakhilyas*, in a literary dialect closely akin to the classical Sanskrit. For the most part these hymns were composed for the rituals of the Sōma and Fire cults by professional priest-poets of various families in the service of rich and devout princes and nobles of the tribes calling themselves "Āryas." Most of them seem to have been made not later than 1000 B.C., and perhaps considerably earlier, while these Āryas were settled in a region in the North-West of India, roughly

corresponding to Eastern Afghanistan and the Panjab, with their centre in the little district of the Upper Doab, south of Ambala, which in ancient times was more or less enclosed by the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī (possibly the modern Sarsuti and Ghogra), and is bordered now on the east and south-east by the river Chitang—a patch of country which the ancient Hindus called Brahmāvarta and Kuru-kshētra, and regarded as the cradle of their history.

Who were these Āryas? Their speech, as presented in the Ṛig-vēda, is near of kin to the "Indo-germanic" tongues spoken by most of the European nations—nearest indeed to the Old Persian and Avestan, but very close also to the Greek and Slavonic,—and their culture and their social and religious traditions have enough likeness to those of ancient Europe to make us think that at some very early time the forefathers of the Āryas in India, of the Eranians of Persia, and of some at least of the "Indo-germanic" peoples of Europe must have been in contact. But language and culture may pass from one community to another without much admixture of blood. Nor do the results of anthropometry enable us to trace with certainty the blood of Europe in Indian veins. It shows that in certain strata of Aryan society in Hindustan there predominates a physical type which in many respects is like that of certain European races; that is all. We must consider early India in detachment from Europe.

But it is hard to avoid drawing comparisons, and the reader cannot fail to be struck by the likeness between the civilisations revealed in the Iliad and the Ṛig-vēda. Both books present to us pictures of a society moulded by foreign invasion: a race of stalwart strangers, strong in the culture and armour of the late Bronze and early Iron Ages, has descended in swarms from the north or north-west upon a darker, weaker, and less warlike people, reduced them to subjection, and partly mixed its

blood and culture with theirs. Society is monarchical and tribal, divided into loosely knit clans, which again are roughly grouped into tribes, which are ruled by nobles and kings who dwell in strong castles. Public feeling finds utterance in assemblies of the folk, where, however, the word of the king or prince, if backed by power, is law. The unit of society is the patriarchal household of freemen. The lower orders of freemen are largely farmers and graziers ; below them, however, is a great mass of serfs, traders, and nondescript population, relics of partially submerged native civilisations.

The swarthy races who were dwelling in India in the far-away times when the Āryas streamed into it were probably as various in blood and civilisation then as they are now. Some of them, probably the more advanced tribes of Dravidian blood, may have been quite as civilised as the Āryas, even if less warlike ; others—the lower Dravidian strata and the Munda, Mon-Khmer, and Mongoloid tribes—were probably much more degraded. The "Aryan" society in which the hymns of the Ṛig-vēda took their present form may have contained several of these elements. Its head was a foreign race of fairer skin and Indo-germanic speech, warriors and priests proud and jealous of their blood and traditions ; its feet was a mixed populace, of which the more civilised elements had learned something of the arts of peace from the Dravidians whom they had incorporated, and perhaps even borrowed some words of their language, while the lower strata were wallowing in savagery.[1] Outside the territory possessed by this

[1] It is impossible to judge how far the fusion between the Aryan and the native stocks had proceeded at the time when the Ṛig-vēda was completed. Probably it was already considerably advanced ; but I am scarcely prepared to assent to Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, who in his able little monograph, *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, asserts that the Vedic Hindus were as mixed in race as their modern descendants. The anthropometric data for the Panjab are strongly opposed to this extreme view.

complex "Aryan" society the same diversity seems to have prevailed: the Vedic poets speak of *Dasyus* or *Dāsas*,[1] the native races still holding out against the Āryas, in language suggesting that some at least of them had a respectable civilisation, though one and all of them were abhorrent to the Āryas on account of their blacker blood and unorthodox religion.

But whatever its ethnic constitution may have been, the society in which the Ṛig-vēda was moulded differed vastly from Dravidian civilisation, and still more from the unmixed barbarism of the other races of India, in its conceptions of religion and morality. Vedic society was patriarchal and masculine: the household was ruled by a house-lord, who wielded almost absolute control over all the other members of the family, and to him his wife or wives were bound by a strict tie of lifelong duty and obedience. Dravidian society was to some extent matriarchal: matrimonial relations, where they could be said to exist at all, were loose and easily dissoluble, and hence succession could only be traced through the female line. The same opposition is visible in religion. Both the Vedic and the Dravidian religions acknowledged deities of both sexes; but in the former the masculine members of the pantheon chiefly engrossed the worshippers' regard, while in the latter the position is reversed. Vedic religion, though it has its darker side—occasional human sacrifice, frequent cruel slaughter of animals, outbursts of filthy obscenity, and a mass of vulgar superstitions and crude magic rites enwrapping almost every function of life—was nevertheless in its official aspect a fairly bright and respectable system; Dravidian religion was dark and repulsive, obscene and bloody. The worship of the Mother Goddess with human sacrifice, of the emblems of genera-

[1] The word *dāsa* in classical Sanskrit came to mean a slave, in the same way as our word *slave* arose from the name of the conquered Slavs as applied to them by their Germanic conquerors.

tion with wholesale prostitution, has always flourished where Dravidian religion has held its ground.[1]

The Vedic religion has many gods and many phases. This is natural, for the hymns of the Ṛig-vēda are a growth of many centuries, and the deities worshipped in them are the deities of many tribes, and the poets, though to some extent their ideas are unified by common literary and religious traditions, have many masters and many needs to serve. It recognises some deities who are simply personifications of the phenomena of nature clothed with a thin veil of anthropomorphic poetry that is not enough to persuade to real worship, such as Ushas the Dawn-goddess, Father Heaven, Mother Earth; others which have perhaps started from similar physical beginnings, but have developed new and more godlike attributes, as in the case of Agni the Fire-god, whose functions as spirit of the sacrificial fire make him the ideal Priest and heavenly Mystagogue, and of Sōma, who as the spirit of the intoxicating plant rose to a height of ritual importance comparable to that of Agni, and of Indra, who from earlier connections with the lightning and the rain-cloud grew into the type and patron saint of the Aryan warrior, a valorous, hard-hitting, deep-drinking, swash-buckling Indian Thor; others sprung from material origins, over which gathering imagination and myth have cast an impenetrable obscurity; and others again in whom moral or spiritual qualities latent in their earlier nature have grown more and more pronounced, until they have come to dominate the character of their possessors, and fill them with a higher dignity, as in

[1] It may be admitted that in the higher developments of Hindu religion the phallic emblem and its feminine counterpart are sublimated into symbols of cosmic and theurgic powers, to which no grossness attaches. But this is a comparatively late evolution, and even to-day I believe it is limited to a very small cultured minority. We must also admit the probability that the influences which contributed to drag down Hindu religion were not wholly Dravidian. The Mongoloid races of the North-East are responsible for much of the Tantric cults.

the case of Varuṇa and the abstract divinity of Prajā-pati and Brahmaṇas-pati.

The civilisation of the Vedic Aryans was simple, but hardly more simple than that of many villages of Northern India at the present day. Most of them were farmers. Their fields were watered by canals, or by wells of the modern Indian kind, and the soil was broken by ploughs with iron or wooden shares drawn by draught-oxen, which they castrated by crushing their testicles. Fruit and vegetables were grown in kitchen-gardens. They had considerable skill in the art of the smith, manufacturing weapons of war and implements of peace from iron, copper, and perhaps other metals, and they wove fabrics of wool and cotton on a simple hand-loom. Their houses were mostly of wood at best; probably the rafters were usually of bamboo, and the roof of thatch. The poor seem to have lived in round huts of wattle-work smeared over with clay and thatched with straw, like the modern peasant of India. On the floor of these hovels grass was strewn, an ancient custom reflected in the ritual of sacrifice, and having the additional advantage of economy. The wealthier enjoyed the luxury of beds on frames, quite in the modern style.

Clothing was of cotton, wool, and deerskins, full-dress consisting of an upper robe over the shoulders and a lower one clasped round the loins. Turbans may have been worn, as they were later, and oils and scents were applied to the body. Brahmans wore a knot or tuft of hair, shaving the rest of the head; we are told that one family, the Vasishṭhas, wore the tuft on the right of the head, and other families followed other fashions. Women dressed their hair in plaits, knots, and other modes; the Atharva-vēda mentions dressing of the hair in the form of pots, horns, and nets. The food of the poor, as to-day, consisted to a large extent of honey, milk, fresh and clarified butter, curds, grain (barley and rice, either alone, or made

into cakes, or boiled in water and milk), sesam, beans, sugar-cane, and other vegetables. When they could obtain it, they ate meat without scruple—the flesh of rams, goats, horses, buffaloes, birds, fishes, and even oxen—for oxen, though venerated, were not yet deified. They indulged in intoxicating drinks, the *sōma* and *surā*, the preparation of which will be described below.

Society showed the same contrasts and discrepancies as in modern times. The rich rode on horses and in chariots, and lived in lordly ease, while the poor struggled to wrest a meagre livelihood from the capricious powers of Nature. Most of the vices of advanced civilisation were rampant, notably prostitution and gambling. Less objectionable forms of amusement were boxing, chariot-racing, hunting, and dancing. Dancing, however, often was quite in the style of the modern nautch, and far from innocent.

The chief tribes of the Āryas seem to have been the Anus, Druhyus, Pūrus, Turvaśas, and Yadus, besides which we find mention made of the Tṛitsus, Krivis (later known as Pañchālas), Bharatas (apparently absorbed later in the Kurus), and others. They were very quarrelsome, and one of the great events of Vedic history is a victory won by Sudās, king of the Tṛitsus, over a confederacy of other tribes led by ten kings on the banks of the river Parushṇī. But we read of no political consolidation following this struggle; Sudās was no Alexander.

II.—*The Expansion of the Āryas*

Until a few years ago, most European scholars believed that the Āryas of the Panjab who composed the hymns of the Ṛig-vēda were the forefathers of the men who established Aryan dominion and Brahmanic civilisation in Northern India. Our little systems

have their day, and another theory now holds the field.[1] It is suggested that there were two invasions—or, perhaps more exactly, two *series* of invasions—of India by the Āryas. The first took place at a time when the regions stretching from the heart of Persia to the western marches of India were still fairly well watered and fertile. Some early Aryan tribes, parting from their Eranian kinsmen, slowly moved on foot and in waggons with their women, flocks, and herds over these districts, entered India on the north-western border, perhaps by the Kabul valley, and established themselves in the Panjab, where most of the Ṛig-vēda took shape. As they brought their own women with them, and generally avoided union with the native races, at any rate among their upper classes, they were able to keep their blood comparatively pure; and hence we find to this day in the Panjab a physical type predominating which in many respects resembles that of certain European races, and is radically different from the typical characteristics of the other Indian stocks, although the Panjab has been for thousands of years the gate of Hindustan, and wave after wave of invasion has swept through it to break on the plains beyond.

After these Āryas had passed into the Panjab, the same thing happened on the north-western marches as has taken place in Turkestan. The rivers and streams slowly dried up, and the desert laid a dead hand upon the once fertile lands. The road was now closed for ever to slow migrations of families; it could be traversed only by swiftly moving troops. Henceforth the successive waves of foreign invasion, though for a time they might overwhelm Hindustan, could not leave any deep and lasting change in the racial characteristics of

[1] It was first propounded by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, and has received the weighty support of Sir George Grierson, who as Director of the Linguistic Survey of India possesses a unique knowledge of the evidence that language furnishes in the case.

the Indian peoples; for the desert forbade the invaders to bring with them enough women to make a colony of their own race, and hence their blood was soon swallowed up in the vast ocean of Indian life.

In one of the earliest of these later irruptions an Aryan tribe or group of tribes akin in blood and language to the first invaders climbed over the wild mountains of the Hindu Kush through Gilgit and Chitral, on the north of the Panjab, and at length gained a footing on the plains of the upper Ganges and Jamna. Probably they came as a series of hordes, one following another. They brought few or no women of their own stock, and were therefore forced to take wives of Dravidian blood. Hence the region where they established themselves, the *Madhya-dēśa* or Midland, which corresponds roughly to the modern United Provinces of Agra and Oudh,[1] came in course of time to be inhabited by a population whose blood was mixed in varying degrees, while its religion and traditions were still to a large extent Aryan. The invaders made little impression upon the Āryas of the Panjab; but further to the east they caused a general dislocation, of which the result was that Aryan tribes began to move on further towards the east, south, and west, mixing their blood in various degrees with the women of the races whom they conquered, and establishing the Brahmanic religion and polity to a greater or less degree over India down to the Vindhya.[2]

Thus the theory. It seems at any rate clear that it

[1] "The Midland extended from the Himalayas on the north to the Vindhya Hills on the south, and from Sahrind (*vulgo* Sirhind) in the Eastern Punjab on the west to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna on the east. It thus consisted of the Gangetic Doāb, and of the country immediately to its north and south."—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, vol. i. p. 357.

[2] See also below, Appendix II to this chapter. There is an alternative possibility that the *first* stream of invaders settled in the Madhya-dēśa, and that the second series of invaders swept around them into Sindh, Gujarat, the Dekhan, and Eastern India. But this seems on the whole less probable.

was in the Madhya-dēśa, amidst a population of mixed Aryan and Dravidian blood, that the religious and social ideas of the Vedic Aryans developed into the classic form of Brahmanic culture. Here perhaps were composed the later hymns of the Ṛig-vēda; here the manifold and fluctuating cults of the Ṛig-vēda crystallised into the systematic ritualism of the Brāhmaṇas; here arose as an offshoot of the latter the gnosis of the Upanishads, which shew us how Brahmans, passing beyond the thought of material welfare and its encompassment by works of formal sacrifice, sought eternal liberation from the cycle of transmigrating births by mystic absorption of the spirit into the transcendent Absolute; here were founded the forms of faith and the system of caste by which Indo-Aryan society ever since has been dominated; and here was developed the classical Sanskrit language, differing from the Vedic dialect much as did Attic from Homeric speech.

The Mahā-bhārata, the great Sanskrit poem which has the somewhat doubtful honour of being the bulkiest epic in existence, describes a state of society which, although coloured by the atmosphere of romance, nevertheless throws some gleams of light on the actual history of the Madhya-dēśa. Its theme is the fortunes of the Pāṇḍavas, five brothers named Yudhi-shṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula, and Saha-dēva, the sons of King Pāṇḍu, with their common wife Draupadī, who were fraudulently dispossessed of their royal rights by their cousins the Kuru or Kaurava princes, sons of Pāṇḍu's brother Dhṛita-rāshṭra, who reigned in Hastinā-pura over the Bharata tribes. After many adventures the Pāṇḍavas returned, established themselves in Indra-prastha on the Jamna (the modern Delhi), and at length overthrew the Kauravas after a fierce struggle, in which the Pāṇḍavas were supported by the semi-divine prince Kṛishṇa of Dvārakā and by the Pañchāla,

Yādava, and Matsya tribes. They thus founded a great empire, in which the Bharatas and Pañchālas were comprised. Now the Mahā-bhārata seems to have once existed in an earlier and less bulky form, possibly some four centuries before the Christian era; and it has been conjectured with plausibility that in this first version of the epic the Kauravas were the heroes, tragically overthrown by the Pāṇḍavas, a horde of unchivalrous foreign barbarians, and that some time later, when the victorious Pāṇḍava dynasty seemed to have justified itself by its subsequent political success and its championship of orthodoxy, the poem was entirely recast by a writer or writers who endeavoured to whitewash the Pāṇḍavas and paint the Kauravas in deepest black, inventing for the Pāṇḍavas a lineage in support of their claim to the throne and toning down all points of the legend that told against them. Some features of the tale, however, were too well known to be washed out, and these were left with little or no apology in the revised version.[1]

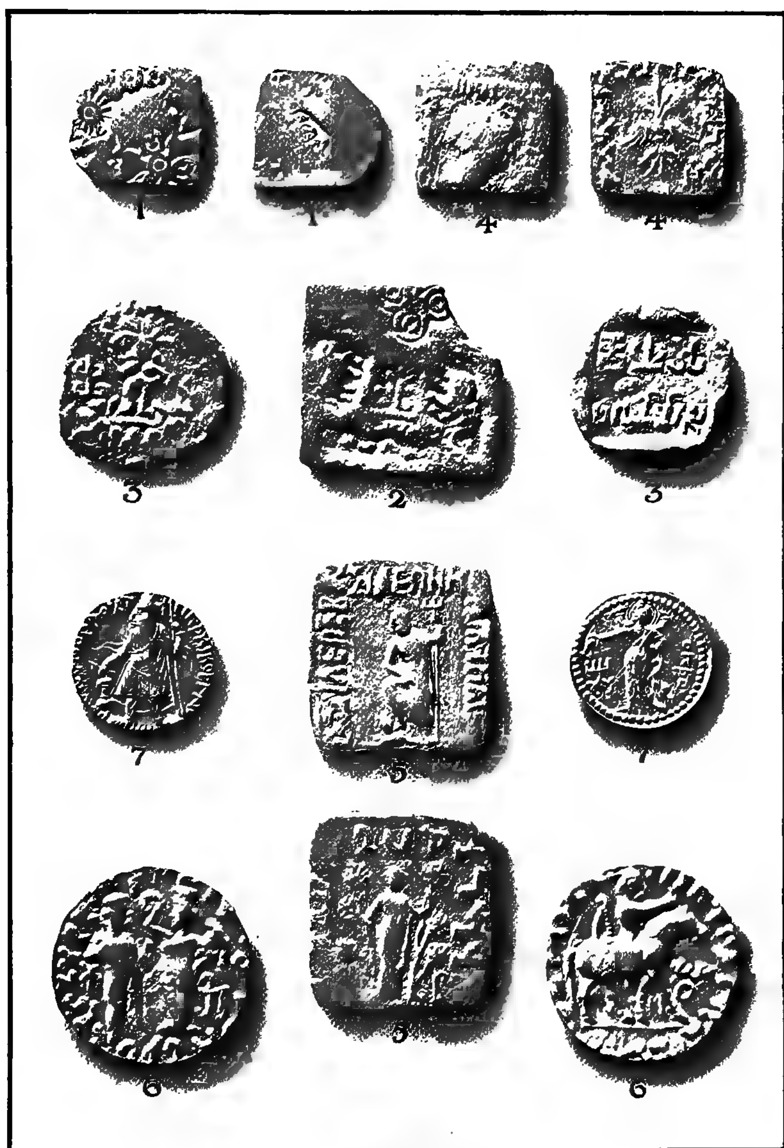
Apart from its mixed sympathies, there are many features in the epic which shew that in its earlier form it arose in a rude "heroic" society in which the

[1] Von Schroeder (*Indiens Literatur*, p. 460) proposes to distinguish three periods in the history of the epic. First there was a loose series of lays on the great war; then a single epic was composed between the 7th and 4th centuries by a poet in full sympathy with the Kauravas, in which the chief deity was Brahmán; then a bulkier version was made, in which the Pāṇḍavas were made the heroes, and Vishṇu and his incarnation Kṛishṇa were represented as the chief deities, the cult of Śiva also finding a place; and lastly some sporadic additions were inserted. Hopkins (*The Great Epic of India*, p. 397) suggests the following stages:—"Bhārata (Kuru) lays, perhaps combined into one, but with no evidence of an epic before 400 B.C. A Mahābhārata tale with Pandu heroes, lays and legends combined by the Puranic diaskeuasts, Krishna as a demigod (no evidence of didactic form or of Krishna's divine supremacy), 400–200 B.C. Remaking of the epic with Krishna as all-god, intrusion of masses of didactic matter, addition of Puranic material old and new; multiplication of exploits, 200 B.C. to 100–200 A.D. The last books added with the introduction to the first book, the swollen Anuçāsana separated from Çānti and recognized as a separate book, 200 to 400 A.D.; and finally 400 A.D. + : occasional amplifications."

regular morality and doctrine of the standard Brahmanic schools had not yet developed—a society which may well have existed in the Madhya-dēśa in the age of ferment which followed the irruption of the second wave of Aryan invasion sweeping down from Chitral and Gilgit. Notably there is the startling fact that the Pāṇḍava brethren possess a common wife—exactly like the Mongoloid tribes of the Himalaya. Again, wine is drunk and meat eaten without the least scruple by the heroes, and child-marriage seems to have been still generally unknown—two important points in which the epic age is unlike the classical period—while on the other hand the veneration of the cow had made considerable progress, and it was considered sinful to eat beef. But the most remarkable difference from Vedic conditions is shown in the political divisions to which the epic refers. Instead of tiny tribes as loosely knit as the city states of classical Greece, we find great kingdoms with centralised administration. In the heart of Northern India, to the west and south-west of the bed of the Middle Ganges, was the kingdom of the Pañchālas, a confederacy which included the great cities of Mathurā (Muttra), in the country of the Śaurasēnis, Kauśāmbī (Kosam), and Kānyakubja (Kanauj). On the east of this, between the Ganges and Rapti, was the kingdom of Kōsala, now Oudh, with the capital Ayōdhyā, near the modern Faizabad.[1] Further east, somewhere about the modern Muzaffarpur District, was a small but powerful republic governed by nobles of the Vṛiji family;[2] its capital was Vaiśālī. Still further eastward were Vidēha (Northern Bihar) and Magadha (Southern Bihar, with Rāja-gṛiha as its capital). With

[1] Another capital, famous in Buddhist literature, was Śrāvastī, on the Upper Rapti.

[2] In the 6th century the Lichchhavi or Lechchhaī family was dominant in Vaiśālī; their relation to the Vṛijis is not clear.



Specimens of Ancient Indian Coins

(*see page 212*)

Magadha were associated Aṅga, the district south of Bhagalpur on the Ganges, and Chēdi, the region round Bilaspur and Jabalpur. Kāśī, now Benares, was the centre of a small kingdom, and the modern Champaran and Darbhanga Districts are the site of the ancient realm of Mithilā. On the south-west were the kingdoms of Nishadha (nearly the modern Southern Malwa) and Vidarbha (Berar). West of Mathurā and the Śaurasēnis were the Matsyas, and in Kathiawar dwelt the Saurāshṭras. Vaṅga (Bengal) was not yet regarded as Aryan, nor were Kaliṅga (Orissa and the Circars) and Aṅga. Of the numerous other minor tribes of Northern India mentioned in the epic it is needless to speak.

The Vindhya mountains have always been the natural boundary between Aryanised and Dravidian India; and though the poets of the epic name the great southern kingdoms, they probably knew little else about them. These kingdoms were those of the Pāṇḍyas, Chōḷas, and Chēras. Of the Pāṇḍya realm, which included most of the modern Madura and Tinnevelly districts, the oldest capital was Korkai, on the Tāmraparṇi river in Tinnevelly; its place was taken later by Madura. The Chōḷa kingdom at one time stretched along the Coromandel coast from Nellore to Pudukotta, and on the west up to the borders of Kurg, though in the seventh century A.D. it had shrunk to the modern Cuddapah District. Its capital was Uraiyūr (Old Trichinopoly), and its port Kāviripaṭṭinam. The Chēras or Kēralas dwelt in and about Travancore, Malabar District, and Cochin; its older capital was Vañji, now Tirukarur, on the Periyar river near Cochin, which was superseded later by Tiru-vañjikalam. Koṅgu-dēśa (Coimbatore and Southern Salem), which in later times bore also the name of "Kērala," was originally distinct from it. These southern kingdoms from very early times enjoyed a civilisation of

their own, and did a thriving trade with the west. The most profitable commodities exported from them were pearls, beryls, and pepper[1]; and Indian teak-wood and muslin were apparently imported by the Babylonians, probably from the south. Later, under the Greek and Roman empires, the Mediterranean ports carried on much trade with Southern India. Roman coins circulated there; the native kings employed European soldiers, and there may have been colonies of Roman citizens there.

The epic age slowly brightened into historical daylight. In the Madhya-dēśa the classical Brahmanic culture ripened into maturity; in the surrounding regions of Continental India it developed to a greater or less degree of fulness according to the circumstances to which its Brahman missionaries and secular representatives had to adapt themselves. It is needless here to dwell upon the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires which make up the bewildering kaleidoscope of Indian history; the reader will find a chronological account of the chief data of them in our next chapter. But before proceeding thither it may be useful to point out certain important facts in the development of Hindu thought.

New elements entered into Aryan religion. The ancient cults inherited from Vedic times and developed on ritualistic and rationalistic lines by the Brahmans were indeed maintained to a large extent in the centres of orthodoxy; but unorthodox churches began to grow and invade the sanctuaries of Brahmanism. Partly this change may have been due to the increasing infiltration of non-Aryan blood into Aryan society, partly to a desire for deities with whom the wor-

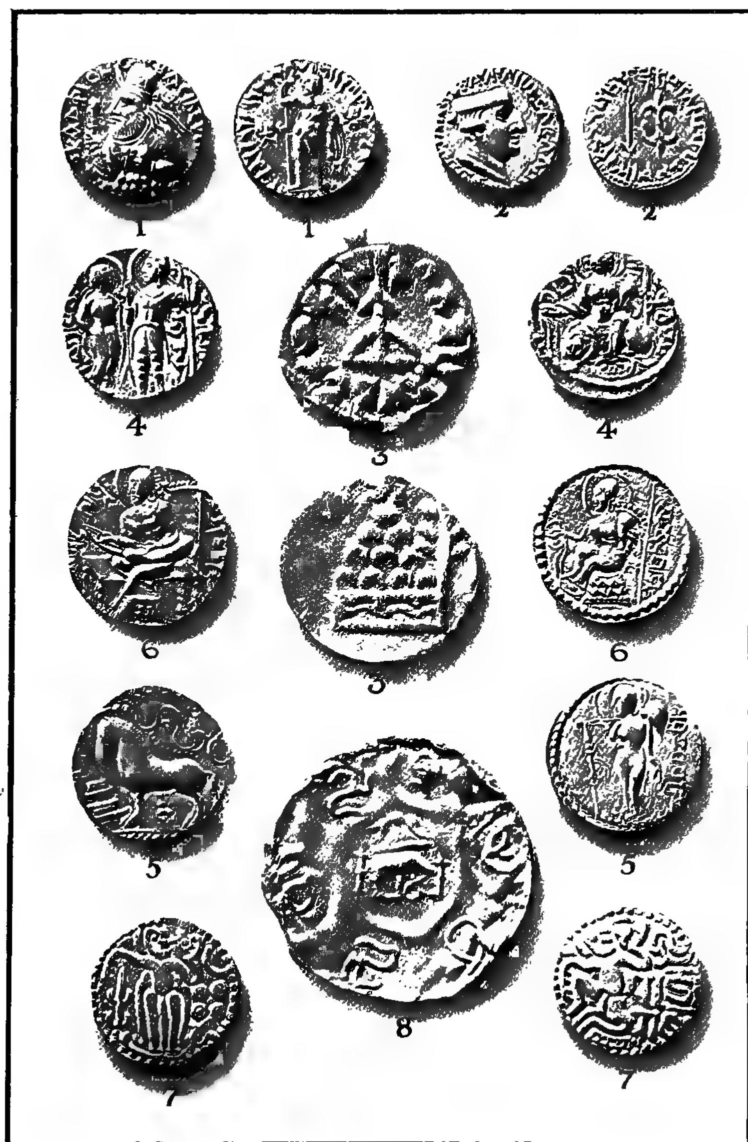
1 "Pepper," πέπερι, is the Tamil *pippali*; *beryllus* is the Sanskritised word *vaiḍūrya*, a word of Dravidian origin; *muktā*, the Sanskrit term for "pearl," is formed by popular etymology from a Dravidian word, which in Tamil is *muttu*. Even the Greek ὄρυζα, the original of the word "rice," comes from the Tamil *ariśi*.

shippers could maintain personal communion of a warmer and more intimate kind than was allowed by the somewhat colourless official cults, partly to self-assertion of the laity. The chief of these newly-appearing cults—which perhaps were very old—were those devoted to the worship of Vishṇu, Śiva, Rāma, and Kṛishṇa (see Appendix I at the end of this chapter). At first they probably stood aloof from the Established Church of Brahmanism; but in course of time compromises were made. The Brahmans accepted each of these gods—usually Vishṇu, with Rāma and Kṛishṇa as his incarnations—as the Supreme Deity, and even condescended to minister to his worship; but in return they recast these new organisations on the model of their own, making them conform with more or less completeness, according to circumstances, to all the principles of the older Brahmanic religious and secular polity except theological dogma, and even for the latter doctrinal bridges to orthodoxy were constructed.

Compromise was less easy in the case of the great heresies which culminated in Buddhism and Jainism. These schisms arose among enthusiasts of the Kshatriya or warrior classes, and harmonists did not usually find a common denominator that would link them with Brahmanism. Gautama the Buddha, a prince of the Śākya clan, who was born at Kapila-vastu about 563 and died probably in 483 B.C., preached a doctrine which developed into the Hīna-yāna, or "Little Vehicle," popular in Ceylon and Further India, and the Mahā-yāna, or "Great Vehicle," the creed of the Northern Buddhist Church; the former lays stress upon ecclesiastical discipline and a somewhat rationalistically coloured doctrine as the avenue to *nirvāṇa*, blissful eternal extinction, while the latter combines a vigorous transcendentalism, usually approaching nihilism, with an intense passion for attaining Buddhahood by means

of works of charity and love, which are within the power of every layman, and indulges its gorgeous and vehement imagination in infinite multiplication of Buddhas and saints. Under Aśōka Buddhism became the dominant religion of Northern India, and flourished for many centuries. At length, having become soaked with the vulgar superstitions of the baser Hindu cults, it was swallowed up in them, and has only lingered on in isolated regions like Nepal, or in a few villages of Bengal and Orissa, where its almost forgotten formulæ have found shelter in the worship of other gods, or have translated themselves beyond recognition into the cults of despised and degraded castes. Jainism is the doctrine attributed to Mahā-vīra or Vardhamāna, a somewhat older contemporary of Gautama. It preaches a severe asceticism, an extremely exaggerated tenderness for animal life, even in its lowest forms, and a curious half-materialistic doctrine, which has not much in common with the standard creeds of Hinduism. At one time it was the chief religion in several important kingdoms of India, especially in the southern and middle regions; and it is still strong among the mercantile classes of Bombay Presidency and the North-West. Both Buddhists and Jains, while admitting the regular deities of Hinduism to a qualified rank in their pantheons, have steadily refused to assent to the Brahmans' claims to supremacy and control, and hence they have always remained heretics outside the pale.

Another movement that has had and still has a great influence on Hindu thought is the Yōga. In origin the Yōga is much the same as Shamanism, and an early kind of Yogi, the Muni, is already known to the poets of the Ṛig-vēda as a wild god-possessed mystic. A branch of this mysticism became systematised in the service of philosophical speculation, as a practical means for obtaining the spiritual insight and resultant salvation which were the goal of all the Indian



SPECIMENS OF ANCIENT INDIAN COINS

(*see page 214*)

systems of thought. It was codified in the Yōga-sūtra, a series of aphorisms ascribed to the grammarian Patañjali (of the second century B.C.), and both in this standard form and in other even more repulsive developments has profoundly affected most of the churches of India. Starting from the idea that spiritual insight is to be gained by arresting the activity of thought in the microcosm of his own body, and merging his mental processes into undifferentiated cosmic intellection, the Yogi proceeds to aspire to superhuman powers of various degrees, dazzling the imagination of the masses by his miraculous pretensions, and awing them by the mystery and supposed sanctity of his austerities. For better or for worse, the Yōga has gained admittance as a legitimate phase of spiritual effort into most of the churches of India.

Even the highly coloured Yogic imagination pales beside the doctrines of some of the innumerable sects which have pullulated on the fertile soil of India. Most famous—or infamous—of these are the Tantras, or "text-books," in which a veritable Devil's Mass is purveyed in various forms to a swarm of sects, mostly of the Śivaite persuasion. Of some of these Tantras the worst that can be said is that they are full of silly and vulgar superstition and magic; others have the additional spice of obscenity and wickedness, some of them ordaining as a sacred duty the violation of the most venerated laws of God and man by eating beef, drinking wine, and practising incest. Unhappily the Tantric cults have struck deep roots in Indian life, and even to this day they have a profound and noisome influence over vast areas.

APPENDIX I

Alphabetical List of the Chief Hindu Deities[1]

Aditi. A Vedic goddess of vague character, mother of the Ādityas, sometimes identified with the earth-goddess Pṛithivī, or the wife of Vishṇu ; later the daughter of Daksha, wife of Kaśyapa, and mother of all the gods.

Ādityas. A group of Vedic gods, of whom only Aṃśa, Aryaman, Bhaga, Daksha, Indra, Mārtāṇḍa, Mitra, Savitṛi (?), Sūrya, and Varuṇa are mentioned as Ādityas in the Ṛig-vēda ; the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa speaks also of Dhātṛi and Vivasvant. In post-Vedic times their number was fixed at twelve, Vishṇu being their chief, and they were apparently connected with the twelve months. They are usually regarded as children of Aditi.

Agni. The god of Fire. He is addressed in many Vedic hymns, and often worshipped in Vedic rituals with oblations of clarified butter and Sōma. His origin is variously given in the Vēda : sometimes he is said to be the son of Dyaus and Pṛithivī, sometimes of Tvashṭṛi and the Waters ; or he is the child of the Sacrifice, of Iḷā, of the Gods, etc. As the sacrificial fire was kindled every morning by the fire-sticks or *araṇīs*, Agni is often called the son of the latter, or generally of plants and trees. Other phrases and myths refer to his origin as lightning in the aerial waters, others to his manifestation in the highest heavens in connection with the Sun. He is sometimes coupled as brother with Indra and Varuṇa, and once with Sōma. As the spirit of the sacrificial fire, he is often said to convey the sacrifice and hymns to the gods, or to bring the gods hither to the sacred rite, and thus is the ideal priest, sage, and seer. As a universal spirit Agni has in the Vēda the epithet *Vaiśvānara*, " belonging to all men " ; he is also styled *Narā-śaṃsa*, " praise of men," possibly as an embodied spirit of prayer, and *Tanū-napāt*, an obscure term. In later art he is often figured as riding on a ram, and as acting with Yama as attendant of Sūrya. He is sometimes called the husband of Svāhā (the sacrificial invocation) and by her the father of Pāvaka, Pavamāna, and Śuchi.

Ahi Budhnya. Literally " Serpent of the Depths " : a Vedic spirit, apparently connected with the waters of the atmosphere.

Aja Ēka-pād. Literally " one-footed goat " : a Vedic spirit, apparently connected with storms and the atmosphere.

Aṃśa. A Vedic god ; one of the Ādityas.

[1] In order to locate deities which are not mentioned under separate headings in this list, reference should be made to the Index.

APĀṂ NAPĀT. Literally "Offspring of the Waters": a Vedic god, usually conceived as dwelling in the waters, sometimes also in the "highest place," and is occasionally identified with Agni.

ĀPAS. The Waters, conceived in the Vēda as goddesses in heaven and earth, mothers of Agni, and fertilising and purifying powers; sometimes connected with the Sōma.

APSARASAS. A class of celestial nymphs, in origin apparently connected with water (the word means "water-pool" or "water-moving"), but generally conceived in classical literature as the courtesans of heaven. The Gandharvas usually, and a few men, are represented as favoured with their love. In the Vēda they are nature-spirits apparently connected with the powers of fertility, and their favour is invoked by dice-players in the Atharva-vēda (iv. 38, etc.).

ARYAMAN. A Vedic god; an Āditya, and usually mentioned in connection with Mitra and Varuṇa.

ASURAS. In the Vēda originally a title of the gods; but also, as usually later, a class of demons at war with the gods.

AŚVINS. "The Twin Horsemen," two gods often mentioned in the Vēda. They ride in a three-wheeled car (of which one wheel is said to have been lost when they came to Sūryā's marriage); the car is drawn by horses, or birds (eagles or swans), or buffaloes, or asses, etc., and they are often said to come at dawn, sometimes also at noon and sunset. They are described as sons of the Ocean, or of Vivasvant and Saraṇyū, fathers of Pūshan, brothers of Ushas, husbands of Ushas, etc., and are conceived as divine helpers in distress, promoting wedlock and childbirth, protecting ships at sea, healers of sickness. Their origin is obscure; some compare them to the Greek Kastor and Polydeukes, others to two Lettish gods who wooed the Sun's daughter. In later legend they are the fathers of the Pāṇḍava heroes Nakula and Saha-dēva, and sons of Sūrya.

BHAGA. A Vedic god and Āditya, regarded chiefly as dispensing fortune; brother of Ushas.

BRAHMÁN. The Hindu Demiurge (see *Bṛihas-pati*), the first-born of beings, who arises from the primeval waters, gives birth to all subsequently created beings, and conveys the divine revelation to mankind. He is also known as Hiraṇya-garbha and Svayambhū, and is represented in art as having four faces (one for each Vēda), usually with a *kamaṇḍalu* or hermit's jug and a sacrificial ladle in his left hands and a ladle and rosary in his right hands; his colour is red, and he sits upon a lotus or a swan, sometimes with his daughter and consort Sarasvatī on his right and Sāvitrī on his left. According to myth, a Brahmán with the gods and universe created by him exists for one hundred aeons, between each of which the universe is temporarily dissolved;

and after the hundredth aeon he and all the gods perish, new deities coming into their places. The Supreme Being or Svayambhū, later identified with Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa, is said to create the primeval waters and fertilise them; they bring forth an egg, from which is born Brahmán, who creates the universe. He is hence sometimes represented as arising from Vishṇu's navel. Daksha was one of his sons.

Bṛihas-pati. A god of the Vēda, in which he is also named *Brahmaṇas-pati*, and is conceived with attributes very like those of Agni, especially as the spirit of sacrifice, prayer, and hymn; in fact, he is sometimes identified with Agni, and becomes the hero of the myth of the release of the kine imprisoned by Vala. Both the above names signify "lord of prayer," or more exactly "lord of the magic powers of prayer." In one phase of this character the god gradually developed into the Demiurge *Brahmán* (masculine). Viewed in another aspect, he became a spirit of wisdom, and ultimately in post-Vedic religion Bṛihaspati or Vāchas-pati appears merely as a divine sage, the master of wisdom and policy, and teacher of the gods. A well-known myth relates that his wife Tārā was seduced by the Moon. The neuter *Bráhma*, viewed as an impersonal cosmic power, was used by the philosophers of the Upanishads and later writings to denote the Absolute Being, which they identified with the pure consciousness or Self, *ātman*.

Chandra. The god of the Moon, conceived as husband of the twenty-seven *nakshatras* or groups of the lunar zodiac, who are said to be daughters of Daksha. His amour with Tārā, wife of Bṛihas-pati, by whom he begot Budha (the planet Mercury), is the theme of a popular myth. See also *Sōma*.

Daityas. A class of deities regarded in the Vēda as offspring of an obscure goddess Diti; in post-Vedic books a class of demons at war with the gods.

Daksha. A Vedic god; an Āditya, and regarded both as son and consort of Aditi; later identified with Prajā-pati. In later myth he figures as son of Brahmán and father of Satī, wife of Śiva. On account of Daksha's contemptuous treatment of Śiva, Satī destroyed herself, and was afterwards incarnated as Umā or Pārvatī (see *Śiva*). The story of Śiva's violent interference with the gods assembled at the sacrifice held by Daksha is told in several forms.

Dānavas. A class of demons. The name comes from Danu, the mythical mother of Vṛitra and wife of Kaśyapa.

Dhātṛi. A god sometimes included among the Ādityas.

Diti. A goddess mentioned thrice in the Ṛig-vēda, in an obscure signification. In later myth she is the daughter of Daksha and wife of Kaśyapa, and mother of the Daityas and Maruts.

DYAUS. The Sky-Father, whose consort is the Earth-Mother (Pṛithivī); cf. the Greek *Zeus*. A Vedic deity of rather abstract character; sometimes called father of the Ādityas, Agni, the Aṅgirasas, the Aśvins, Indra, the Maruts, Parjanya, Sūrya, and Ushas.

GANDHARVAS. A class of gods, in origin perhaps genii representing the generative powers of nature and water. In the Vēda usually a single Gandharva (Viśvā-vasu) is mentioned, often in connection with Sōma, which he or they are sometimes said to have stolen away. Later they appear regularly as divine musicians and singers, and as lovers of the Apsarasas, usually playing in myth an erotic part.

GAṆĒŚA. Also known as Gaṇa-pati and Vināyaka; the son of Śiva and Umā, and worshipped at the beginning of every enterprise as remover of obstacles. He is always represented as a round-bellied figure with an elephant's head and one tusk, and usually as holding a rosary, noose, and elephant-goad, with a rat in attendance.

GAṄGĀ. The holy river Ganges, personified as the eldest daughter of the Himalaya and Mēnā. She is said to have been brought down from heaven at the prayer of the saint Bhagīratha to purify the ashes of King Sagara's sixty thousand sons, who had been consumed by fire from the eyes of the saint Kapila. She issued from Vishṇu's foot, and as she fell she was caught in the locks of Śiva's hair. Her fall disturbed the saint Jahnu, who was holding a sacrifice, and he swallowed her up; but he afterwards allowed her to issue from his ear. She is often called Bhāgīrathī, from Bhagīratha, and Jāhnavī, from Jahnu.

GARUḌA. Also called Vainatēya, from the name of his mother Vinatā, wife of Kaśyapa, and Tārkshya; the sacred kite of Vishṇu, represented with human body and the wings and head of a kite. He is the king of birds, and the deadly enemy of the Nāgas or divine serpents.

HANUMANT. Or Āñjanēya, or Māruti; a divine monkey-king, son of the Wind. He greatly aided Rāma in his conquest of Rāvaṇa (see *Rāma*).

INDRA. One of the greatest of the Vedic gods, embodying the traits of the typical Aryan warrior, and often conceived as helping the Aryans in their contests with the aborigines. He is the chief god of the atmosphere, and is especially connected with the thunder, wielding the thunderbolt (*vajra*) and riding in a chariot drawn by tawny horses. He is especially fond of the intoxicating Sōma-juice, which he drinks in enormous quantities, to stimulate him to his exploits. Sometimes he is called the brother of Agni and Pūshan, and husband of Indrāṇī or Śachī; his mother is once said to be Nishṭigrī, once Ēkashṭakā, Prajā-

pati's daughter; his father is Dyaus or Tvashṭri, and he is said to have slain Tvashṭri to obtain Sōma. He is often associated with other gods, notably the Maruts. The chief exploit ascribed to him is his destruction of Vṛitra the Dragon, whereby he released the pent-up "waters," apparently typifying the arrested rains, and the "kine" imprisoned in the mountain, possibly referring to the same idea, or to the restoration of the sunlight. Another myth relates his capture of the kine hidden by the Paṇis or the demon Vala. He is sometimes said to have established earth and sky, and a later myth, based on the Ṛig-vēda, narrates that he cut off the wings of the mountains, which previously flew about and disturbed the balance of the earth. As in later literature, he is often styled in the Vēda *Śakra*, "mighty," and *Vṛitra-han*, "slayer of Vṛitra." See also *Tvashṭri*.

In post-Vedic literature Indra becomes the chief god of *svarga* or paradise, and is liable to be deposed from his throne by any-one of sufficient magical power. He is usually represented with a thousand eyes distributed over his body, which were originally marks representing the *pudenda muliebria*, impressed upon him through the curse of the saint Gautama as a punishment for the seduction of his wife Ahalyā, and afterwards were changed to eyes. He is figured as riding upon the elephant Airāvata, and bearing a thunderbolt (*vajra*).

Kāma. Also called Anaṅga, Smara, Madana, Makara-dhvaja, Kan-darpa, etc. The god of Love, and husband of Rati; usually repre-sented as a handsome young man riding on a parrot, with a bow of sugar-cane, a bowstring formed of a line of bees, and flower-tipped arrows, and attended by nymphs, with a banner bearing the emblem of a *makara* or sea-monster. See *Śiva*.

Kṛishṇa. Also called Vāsudēva, Dāmōdara, Jagan-nātha, etc. Originally a hero of saga, later regarded as a full incarnation of Vishṇu. According to legend, Vasu-dēva had two wives, Rōhiṇī and Dēvakī, and Dēvakī bore him eight sons. Kaṃsa, king of Mathurā, imprisoned Vasu-dēva and Dēvakī and killed the first six of their children. The seventh child, Bala-rāma, was saved by being miraculously transferred from the womb of Dēvakī to that of Rōhiṇī. When the eighth child, Kṛishṇa, was born, his father escaped with him, and left him in charge of Nanda, a herdsman, and his wife Yaśōdā, taking in exchange their infant son. Kṛishṇa (literally "Black," and hence repre-sented in art as a handsome child or youth of black or blue colour) grew up among the herdsmen of Vraja, and many stories are told of his childish sports, youthful amours (especially with Rādhā), and wonderful deeds. He slew Kaṃsa, as had been prophesied, and transported the inhabitants of Mathurā to Dvārakā, where he reigned until his son Pradyumna and most

of the Yādava princes perished in a drunken brawl, and Kṛishṇa departed. A Jain legend narrates that Dvārakā was burned owing to the curse of the saint Dvaipāyana, and Kṛishṇa then set out with Rāma and Bala-rāma to go to the south, but on his way was accidentally shot and died. In the earlier parts of the Mahā-bhārata he appears as a powerful prince of Dvārakā or Dvāravatī (said to have been founded by a colony of Yādavas from Mathurā), who gave much help to the Pāṇḍavas ; but his character here is unchivalrous. In later parts of the same epic he is the Supreme Being, Vishṇu incarnate to preach and realise in works his gospel for the salvation of mankind. The Kṛishṇa legend is thus of many phases, and is probably composite in origin. Possibly there is a trace of it in an early form in the Ṛig-vēda viii. 96, 13, which, according to native interpreters, speaks of Indra's conquest of a demon named Kṛishṇa and his host ; Puranic literature many centuries later records several conflicts between Indra and Kṛishṇa, and in Vedic times worshippers of Indra usually regarded his opponents as "foreign devils." In the ancient Chhāndōgya-upanishad (iii. 17, 6) Kṛishṇa son of Dēvakī is mentioned as an ancient sage. The Upanishads record the names and something of the teachings of several Kshatriyas who were famous in legend for their philosophic wisdom ; and it may hence be conjectured that Kṛishṇa was originally the hero of a non-Aryan tribe opposed to the cult of Indra, and that this tribe later was introduced into the Aryan pale and brought its legends in with it.

In art Kṛishṇa is usually represented as a handsome youth of blue colour, holding or playing a flute (whence his name Muralīdhara), often surrounded by a troop of idyllic amorous herdswomen (Gōpīs), and sometimes as a baby lying on a lotus leaf.

KUBĒRA. Or Vaiśravaṇa ; the god of wealth, and chief of the fairies called Yakshas and Guhyakas, who dwells in Alakā in the Himalaya, and is regent of the North. He is sometimes figured as a deformed white man, with three legs and eight teeth ; but in Gandhara art the type is modelled upon that of the Greek Zeus.

LAKSHMĪ. The consort of Vishṇu.

MANU. The legendary ancestor of mankind (*manu* = Germ. *mann*, Engl. *man*). The Vēda describes him as son of Vivasvant (whence he is entitled Vaivasvata) and founder of sacrificial rites. In the Śata-patha-brāhmaṇa he is said to have been saved by a giant fish (later identified with Vishṇu) in a universal flood, after which he begot the human race by Iḍā, who arose as his daughter from his sacrifices. Naturally Manu was multiplied in legend ; among the various Manus of post-Vedic literature the most important is Manu Svāyambhava, son or grandson of

Brahmán Svayambhū and traditional author of the famous law-code bearing his name, who begot ten Prajā-patis or ancestors of mankind. There are usually said to be fourteen Manus, viz. Svāyambhava, Svārōchisha, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata, Chākshusha, Vaivasvata (the ancestor of the present age, who is connected with the legend of the deluge mentioned above), Sāvarṇa, Daksha-sāvarṇa, Brahma-sāvarṇa, Dharma-sāvarṇa, Rudra-sāvarṇa, Rauchya, and Bhautya.

MĀRTĀṆḌA. One of the Ādityas.

MARUTS. A class of Vedic gods; their mother is Pṛiśni, their father Rudra, or they are attendant upon Rudra. They are described as brilliant beings bearing lances or axes, and occasionally other weapons, and riding in cars drawn by speckled horses. Often they are associated with lightning, thunder, and rain, and aid Indra and Trita in their exploits. A post-Vedic legend makes them sons of Diti, or of Śiva and Pṛithivī, the Earth.

MĀTARIŚVAN. A Vedic god, sometimes regarded as identical with Agni, sometimes as the discoverer of Agni or fire, which he brought to Bhṛigu. Later he is identified with the wind-god, Vāyu.

MITRA. A Vedic god, usually coupled with Varuṇa; an Āditya, and apparently representative of the power of the sun. In later times he is sometimes represented with the attributes of the sun-god Sūrya.

NĀGAS. Properly a snake, especially the cobra; in myth a race of divine serpents, half human in form, descended from Kadru, the wife of Kaśyapa. See *Garuḍa*.

PARJANYA. A god, in the Vēda typifying the rain-cloud with accompanying thunder and lightning; consort of Pṛithivī, the Earth.

PIŚĀCHAS. A kind of goblins or ghouls.

PITṚIS. "Fathers," *i.e.* the spirits of deceased forefathers. The Vēda represents them dwelling in paradise or the third heaven, with Yama and the gods, and receiving the same worship as the latter. In course of time their cult was further separated from that of the gods; their home was said to be in the South, and they were worshipped with numerous special rites (*śrāddha*, *pitṛi-mēdha*, etc.). The name is also given to the ten Prajā-patis (see *Manu*) and a class of beings who were sons of the gods and taught the latter the rituals of expiation.

PRAJĀ-PATI. Literally "Lord of offspring"; a god who in the Vēda is the spirit of generation, and in later Vedic literature represents the Demiurge and bearer of revelation, sometimes identified with Brahmán, Hiraṇya-garbha, or Daksha. See also *Manu*. The name is also given sometimes to Brahmán Svāyambhava.

PṚITHIVĪ. The Earth-Mother. See *Dyaus* and *Parjanya*.

PŪSHAN. A Vedic god, husband of Sūryā, and son of the Aśvins; described as carrying a spear and goad, riding through the sky in a chariot drawn by goats, feeding on gruel, and toothless. He leads the dead to the Fathers, and guards ways, wayfarers, and cattle. He has thus the attributes of a pastoral god, with some traits suggesting a solar origin.

RĀKSHASAS. A class of demons or goblins.

RĀMA. Originally an epic hero, later regarded as a complete incarnation of Vishṇu. The legend as given in the Rāmāyaṇa (ascribed to Vālmīki) relates that he was the son of king Daśa-ratha of Ayōdhyā and his queen Kauśalyā, and won for his wife Sītā, daughter of Janaka of Vidēha, by his strength and skill in bending the latter's bow. Owing to the jealousy of his stepmother Kaikēyī, he was banished by Daśa-ratha, and went into exile at Chitra-kūṭa, in the Daṇḍaka forest, with Sītā and his half-brother Lakshmaṇa. Rāvaṇa, the demon king of Laṅkā (identified with Ceylon), forcibly carried away Sītā to his city, and vainly endeavoured to win her love. Rāma, in alliance with the monkey-kings Hanumant and Sugrīva and legions of monkeys, stormed Laṅkā, slew Rāvaṇa, recovered Sītā, and returned to reign in Ayōdhyā. The Uttara-kāṇḍa, a later addition to the Rāmāyaṇa, relates that after his return Rāma overheard scandalous gossip about Sītā's conduct in captivity, and therefore sent her to the hermitage of Vālmīki, the traditional author of the Rāmāyaṇa, where she bore his twin sons Kuśa and Lava, who when grown up were recognised by Rāma. He called upon Sītā to take an oath in assertion of her purity. She did so; the Earth, to whom she appealed, opened and took her away in her embrace, and Rāma was translated to heaven.

ṚIBHUS. Three Vedic gods named Ṛibhukshan, Vāja, and Vibhvan, usually associated with Indra; said to have been mortal sons of Manu, who by their skill or ascetic virtue became immortal. Their five marvellous feats were the restoration of their aged parents to youth, the creation of a cow (for Bṛihas-pati?), a self-moving chariot for the Aśvins, the two bay horses of Indra, and the multiplication into four of the gods' cup made by Tvashṭṛi. As *ṛibhu* seems phonetically to agree with the English *elf*, they may be in origin connected with the elf-craftsmen of Germanic myth.

SĀDHYAS. A class of deities, sometimes connected with Brahmán.

SARASVATĪ. In Vedic literature this is the name of a sacred river, worshipped as a goddess. Originally it may perhaps have been the river called in the Avesta Haraxwaitī, which is etymologically the same word as Sarasvatī ("having pools"), or it may have denoted the Indus; but the name came to be applied to a

stream in the North-West, on the border of the sacred region of Brahmāvarta, which loses itself in the sands, but is believed by some to have formerly been a tributary of the Sutlaj.

Towards the end of the Vedic period Sarasvatī was identified with Vāk, "Speech," and finally became the divine embodiment of language, literary expression, and learning, and wife of Brahmán.

Savitṛi. A Vedic god, apparently representing the sun as the stimulating power of nature.

Śiva. One of the great gods. His character has been formed by a conflation of the attributes of several deities, of which the earliest known is the Vedic Rudra.

Rudra in the Vēda and Vedic literature is generally regarded as a fierce, powerful, and malevolent being, ever ready to slay men and cattle with his arrows unless duly supplicated, sometimes even as a god of robbers and swindlers. He is clad in a skin, and dwells in the north, among the mountains; the other gods, from whom he is separated in cult, dwell in the east. Sometimes he is said to be red in colour, or to have a blue belly or neck—a trait developed in the later myth, in which he is said to have swallowed the poison produced at the churning of the Ocean (see *Vishṇu*), which stained his neck dark blue and gained for him the name *Nīla-kaṇṭha*, "Blue-neck." At the the same time he is regarded as capable of conferring blessing and healing, and in this capacity is invoked with his troops. His wife is Umā or Pārvatī, daughter of the Himalaya (see *Daksha*), his sister Ambikā (later identified with Umā). He is often associated with the Maruts and a troop of demons, and is sometimes styled Bhava, Śarva, Ugra, Paśu-pati, Tryambaka, Mahā-dēva, etc.

In post-Vedic literature Śiva has come to represent the power of dissolution in nature, and is accordingly worshipped by numerous Śaiva sects as the Supreme Being under many names (Īśvara, Mahēśvara, Śambhu, Śaṅkara, Mahā-kāla, Hara, Bhairava, etc.). He is usually conceived as three-eyed (Trilōchana), and as the typical Yogi. White or yellow in colour, smeared with the ashes of burnt cow-dung, wearing his hair done up in a braided conical pile, on the top of which is the crescent moon and the goddess Gaṅgā, whose sacred stream was arrested there in its fall from heaven before descending upon the Himalaya, carrying a garland of skulls, a trident, a small hand-drum (*ḍamaru*), the *aksha-mālā* or rosary of seeds of the Elaeocarpus ganitrus, a necklace of serpents, etc., he sits motionless for ages in ecstatic reverie in his mountain home upon a tiger's skin, or leads the wild revels of his goblin troops (*gaṇas*, *pramathas*, *bhūtas*) on the hills or amidst graveyards. He is often con-

ceived as dancing, and this function—originally no doubt a devil-dance—is associated with a cosmic significance. His wife is Umā (Pārvatī, Chāmuṇḍā, Chaṇḍī, Kāmākshi, Gaurī, Kālī, or Durgā), the daughter of the Himalaya, regarded either as a goddess of sublime beauty and sweetness or as a furious being delighting in bloodshed and death. In the Tantric cults she is conceived as the *śakti* or cosmic energy by which the power of the supreme Śiva is realised in the universe, and is often worshipped with him in bloody and obscene rites. The *liṅga* (image of the male organ of generation) and *yōni* (image of the female organ) are often worshipped as symbols of Śiva and Umā respectively. See also *Brahmán*, *Daksha*, *Skanda*.

The origin of the cult of Śiva is uncertain. Apparently it comes from non-Aryan sources. Etymologically *Rudra* means "roarer," possibly referring to the noise of the storm-god or the manifestations of a Shamanist devil, and *Śiva* signifies "gracious," "auspicious," probably a euphemism similar to that of the Greek term Εὐμενίδες instead of Δυσμενίδες. Some, however, connect *Śiva* with the Tamil root *śiva*, *śeva*, "to be red," and explain *Rudra* similarly. It is noteworthy that the home of the cult is among the Mongoloid tribes of the Himalaya, and that it has been from ancient times the chief worship of the Tamils.

SKANDA. The son of Śiva and Umā; also called Mahā-sēna, Kārttikēya, Guha, Subrahmaṇya, and Kumāra. In order to free themselves from the oppression of the demon Tāraka, the gods induced Madana or Anaṅga, the god of Love, to shoot his arrow at Śiva and so inspire him with love for Umā, as from their union would be born a god who would lead the hosts of heaven to victory. This was done (not before Śiva in his anger had reduced Madana to ashes by the flames from his central eye); Skanda was born, and overcame Tāraka. He is sometimes said to have been born of the seed of Śiva cast into the fire and afterwards taken up by the Ganges. He was reared by the Pleiades or Kṛittikās, and hence has sometimes six heads and twelve hands. He is figured as riding on a peacock or cock, and carrying a spear, or a bow and arrow.

SŌMA. A Vedic god, the spirit of the intoxicating juice of the Sōma plant offered and drunk by the worshippers in many Vedic liturgies. In a few late hymns of the Ṛig-vēda and regularly in subsequent writings Sōma is regarded as the moon, the deity on whom depends the fertilising moisture of vegetation, and in the Brāhmaṇas is said to wane periodically because it is drunk or eaten by the gods and deceased Fathers. As the moon, Sōma is said in the Yajur-vēda to be the husband of the *nakshatras* or groups of the lunar zodiac, who are called daughters of Prajā-pati. See also *Chandra*.

Śrī. The consort of Vishṇu.

Sūrya. The Sun-god; sometimes in the Vēda called an Āditya and son of Dyaus, and in post-Vedic writings often styled *Āditya* and called the father of the Aśvins. He is frequently worshipped in local cults, chiefly as a power of moral and physical purification, and is represented as riding in a chariot drawn by seven horses, with his charioteer on the pole of the car. Agni and Yama are sometimes figured as his attendants.

Tri-mūrti. The Hindu Trinity, comprising the gods Brahmán, Vishṇu, and Śiva, representing respectively the cosmic forces of creation, preservation, and dissolution, and sometimes figured by three heads rising from one body.

Trita Āptya. A Vedic god, several times mentioned in the Ṛig-vēda in connection with Indra and the Sōma, sometimes with traits very similar to those of Indra. In legend Trita is a sage who was cast into a well by his brothers Ēkata and Dvita and miraculously saved; in the Brāhmaṇas the three are sons of Agni.

Tvashṭṛi. A Vedic god, of uncertain origin, chiefly characterised by the possession of skill as a divine craftsman framing the machinery of creation. He is said to bear an axe and a bowl of Sōma. Sometimes he is represented as father of Indra (who is sometimes said to have killed him to obtain the Sōma), Agni, Saraṇyū (the wife of Vivasvant), Bṛihas-pati, and Viśva-rūpa (against whom Indra made war to obtain his kine). Later he is identified with Viśva-karman.

Ushas. The Dawn (Greek ἠώς), addressed in the Vēda as a goddess; sometimes regarded as consort of Sūrya, or as mother of Sūrya and Agni, and as sister of Bhaga and the Aśvins.

Vāk. See *Sarasvatī*.

Varuṇa. One of the chief Vedic deities. He is an Āditya, and is conceived as omniscient sovereign of the universe, strictly maintaining the laws of nature and of morality. Most often he is coupled with Mitra. Some regard him as typifying the sky (Greek *Ouranos*), others as the moon. In post-Vedic mythology he is the god of the Ocean and regent of the West, with a sea-monster as his vehicle, a noose (as already in the Vēda), and an umbrella formed of a cobra's hood.

Vasus. A group of gods usually associated with Agni and the earth, and said to number 8 or 333. The Rāmāyaṇa makes them children of Aditi.

Vāyu. Or Vāta, the god of Wind. In later myth he is king of the Gandharvas, father of Hanumant, and regent of the North-West.

Vīra-bhadra. A deity of the most appalling form, who emanated from Śiva's mouth in order to interrupt Daksha's sacrifice.

VISHṆU. In the Vēda Vishṇu is a minor deity, of whom it is several times stated that he takes three strides over the earth or heavens, which has been explained as symbolising the course of the sun over the three divisions of the world (earth, atmosphere, and upper heaven), or in the three phases of rising, culminating, and setting. He is often described as an ally of Indra in his conflicts, and of the Maruts. The Brāhmaṇas often identify him with the sacrifice.

In post-Vedic literature, where he is also called Achyuta, Nārāyaṇa, and Hari, he is regarded as the Supreme Being by most writers, except the Śaivas, who naturally give that rank to Śiva. He represents the power of order and stability in nature, and is often worshipped in a spirit of loving devotion (*bhakti*). It is believed that from time to time he has incarnated himself, either wholly or partially, to help mankind. These incarnations are (1) the Fish, which saved Manu, the ancestor of the human race, from a cosmic flood; (2) the Tortoise, which, standing at the bottom of the Sea of Milk, supported on its back the mountaiu Mandara, round which the serpent Vāsuki twined himself; the gods then, using Mandara as a churning-stick and Vāsuki as a cord, churned out of the Sea of Milk fourteen precious objects, including Lakshmī or Śrī, the goddess of fortune, Dhanvantari, the divine physician, Chandra, the moon, the *kaustubha* or jewel worn on Vishṇu's breast, the *śaṅkha*, a shell-trumpet, also carried by Vishṇu, Airāvata, Indra's elephant, the *pārijāta* or heavenly tree on which grow all objects of desire, Surabhi, the divine cow fulfilling all wishes, etc.; (3) the Boar, which dived into the sea and raised thence the earth, which had been carried down thither by the demon Hiraṇyāksha; (4) Nara-siṃha, the man-lion, which destroyed the impious demon Hiraṇya-kaśipu; (5) Vāmana, the dwarf, in which form he appeared to the demon Bali and asked him for as much land as he could walk over in three paces; on his assent, Vishṇu strode in two paces over heaven and earth; (6) Paraśu-rāma, son of Jamad-agni, a Brahman hero who twenty-one times extirpated the whole race of Kshatriyas; (7) Rāma: see above; (8) Kṛishṇa: see above; (9) Buddha, in which form some imagine that Vishṇu incarnated himself in order to misguide demons and sinners and so lead them to ruin. To these is to be added (10) the incarnation as Kalki, who is yet to come, and will bring about a new order of righteousness.

He is often represented as sleeping upon the giant serpent Śēsha or Ananta, or riding upon Garuḍa, the divine kite. His emblems are the lotus-flower, *śaṅkha* or conch, mace, and *chakra* or disc, which he carries in his four hands; and on his breast

are the *kaustubha* jewel and the mark called *śrī-vatsa*. His consort is Śrī or Lakshmī (sometimes regarded as two goddesses). He is often worshipped under the emblem of the *śāla-grāma*, an ammonite found in the river Gandak, and the *tulsī* or basil plant. See also *Brahmán*.

VIŚVA-KARMAN. Literally "All-maker"; a god who in the Vēda is very abstract, but gradually evolved into a definite character, being in the Brāhmaṇas the same person as Prajā-pati, and finally becoming the ideal craftsman, like the Greek Hephaistos (cf. *Tvashṭṛi*).

VIVASVANT. A Vedic god; an Āditya, and father of the Aśvins, Manu, and Yama; husband of Saraṇyū. Some regard him as representing the sun in one of its phases, others as the legendary first sacrificer and ancestor of mankind.

VṚITRA. A demon or dragon slain by Indra.

YAMA. A god ruling the realm of the dead. In the Vēda he is the son of Vivasvant (whence his title Vaivasvata) by Saraṇyū, or of Gandharva and a water-spirit, and twin brother of Yamī. Pre-Vedic legend apparently made Yama and Yamī the parents of mankind, and the Ṛig-vēda has a hymn (x. 10) in which Yamī vainly tries to seduce him. In the Vēda he is the first of men that died and ruler of the dead in paradise, and has two dogs, that are his messengers and beset the road of the spirit on its way to Yama's realm. In later literature he is conceived more especially as the judge of the dead, an Indian Pluto. He is there son of Sūrya and brother of Manu Vaivasvata, and is assisted in his judicial functions in the nether world by his recorder Chitra-gupta. In art he is usually figured as dark blue in colour, riding on a buffalo, bearing a club or rod (whence his title Daṇḍa-nāyaka) and a noose, and sometimes standing as warder to Sūrya. He is regent of the South.

YĀTU-DHĀNAS. A kind of goblins.

APPENDIX II

Ethnographic and Linguistic Divisions of Modern India

MUCH light is thrown on the ancient history of India by the results of modern ethnographic surveys. A summary of these is here appended, abridged from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, vol. i., pp. 293–297, and Sir H. H. Risley's "People of India." It should be premised that the most important standards for classification of race-types are those furnished by the cephalic, the nasal, and the orbito-nasal indices. The cephalic index is the proportion of the maximum breadth of the skull to its maximum length, measured

in a horizontal plane, the former a little above the ears and the latter from the glabella to the back of the head. When the cephalic index is 80 per cent. or more, the type is broad-headed or brachycephalic; when it is below 75 per cent., the type is long-headed or dolichocephalic; intermediate types are called mesocephalic. The nasal index is the proportion of the breadth of the nose to its height. Narrow-nosed (leptorrhine) types have a width of less than 70 per cent. of the height; broad-nosed (platyrrhine) types have a proportion of 85–100 per cent.; the intermediate class is the medium or mesorrhine. A third test is the orbito-nasal index, which is found by marking a point on the front of the outer edge of the orbit of each eye and a third point on the middle of the root of the nose at its lowest depression; the distance between each of the orbital points and the third point on the root of the nose and the distance between the two orbital points are then ascertained, and the ratio of the former to the latter is the orbito-nasal index. It permits a classification into three main types, a platyopic with index below 110, a mesopic with index of 110–112·9, and a proopic with index of 113 and above.

The leading ethnic types, classified chiefly on the bases of these data, are as follows:—

(1) The *Turko-Eranian*, represented by the Baloch, Brahui, and Afghans of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province. Probably formed by a fusion of Turki and Persian elements, in which the former predominate. Stature above mean; complexion fair; eyes mostly dark, but occasionally grey; hair on face plentiful; head broad; nose moderately narrow, prominent, and very long.

(2) The *Indo-Aryan*, occupying the Panjab, Rajputana, and Kashmir, and having as its characteristic members the Rajputs, Khattris, and Jats. This type approaches most closely to that ascribed to the traditional Aryan colonists of India. The stature is mostly tall; complexion fair; eyes dark; hair on face plentiful; head long; nose narrow and prominent, but not specially long.

(3) The *Scytho-Dravidian*, comprising the Maratha Brahmans, the Kunbis, and the Kurgs of Western India. Perhaps formed by a mixture of Scythian and Dravidian elements.[1] The type is clearly

[1] The term "Scytho-Dravidian" rather begs the question, for it is very doubtful whether the non-Dravidian elements in this type are really due to Scythian invaders. That Scythian dynasties ruled at one time in this region is well known; but it seems unlikely that these invaders brought enough women of their race with them to reproduce their own type and strongly influence the ethnic characteristics of the vast native population (see above, pp. 8, 9). Mr. C. V. Vaidya advances other objections to the theory (*Epic India*, pp. 29–47). It seems just possible—and I suggest the hypothesis with extreme diffidence—that this mysterious "Scythian" factor in the ethnic character of these regions is *Dravidian*. In ethnic type the

distinguished from the Turko-Eranian by a lower stature, a greater length of head, a higher nasal index, a shorter nose, and a lower orbito-nasal index. All these characters, except perhaps the last, may be due to a varying degree of intermixture with the Dravidians. In the higher groups the amount of crossing seems to have been slight; in the lower the Dravidian elements are more pronounced.

(4) The *Aryo-Dravidian*, or *Hindustani*, found in the United Provinces, in parts of Rajputana, and in Bihar, and represented in its upper strata by the Hindustani Brahman, and in its lower by the Chamar. Probably the result of the intermixture, in varying proportions, of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian types. The head-form is long, with a tendency to medium; the complexion varies from lightish brown to black; the nose ranges from medium to broad, being always broader than among the Indo-Aryans; the stature is lower than in the latter group. The higher representatives of this type approach the Indo-Aryans, while the lower members are in many respects not very far removed from the Dravidians. The distinctive feature of the type is to be found in the proportions of the nose. The average index runs in an unbroken series from 73·0 in the Bhuinhar of Hindustan, and 73·2 in the Brahman of Bihar, to 86 in the Hindustani Chamar and 88·7 in the Musahar of Bihar. The order thus established corresponds substantially with the scale of social precedence independently ascertained.

(5) The *Mongolo-Dravidian* or *Bengali* type of Lower Bengal and Orissa, comprising the Bengal Brahmans and Kayasths, the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, and other groups peculiar to this part of India. Probably a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements, with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups. The head is broad; complexion dark; hair on face usually plentiful; stature medium; nose medium, with a tendency to broad. Within its own habitat the type extends to the Himalayas on the north and to Assam on the east, and probably includes the bulk of the population of Orissa; the western limit coincides approximately with the hilly country of Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal.

(6) The *Mongoloid* type of the Himalayas, Nepal, Assam, and Bnrma, represented by the Kanets of Lahul and Kulu; the Lepchas of Darjeeling and Sikkim; the Limbus, Murmis, and Gurungs of Nepal; the Bodo of Assam; and the Burmese. The head is broad; complexion dark, with a yellowish tinge; hair on face scanty; stature short or below average; nose fine to broad; face characteristically flat; eyelids often oblique.

so-called "Dravidians" are identical with the Munda and other aboriginal races, and yet they speak absolutely different languages; this suggests that the Dravidian blood vanished in that of the older native stocks in most districts, but preserved some of its old characteristics in the Maratba country (traditionally Dravidian).

(7) The *Dravidian* type,[1] extending from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges, and pervading Madras, Haidarabad, the Central Provinces, most of Central India, and Chota Nagpur. Probably the original type of the population of India, now modified to a varying extent by the admixture of Aryan, Scythian, and Mongoloid elements. In typical specimens the stature is short or below mean; the complexion very dark, approaching black; hair plentiful, with an occasional tendency to curl; eyes dark; head long; nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root, but not so as to make the face appear flat. This race, the most primitive of the Indian types, occupies the oldest geological formation in India, the medley of forest-clad ranges, terraced plateaux, and undulating plains which stretches, roughly speaking, from the Vindhyas to Cape Comorin. On the east and west of the peninsular area the domain of the Dravidian is conterminous with the Ghats, while farther north it reaches on one side to the Aravallis, and on the other to the Rajmahal Hills.

Turning now from ethnographic to linguistic divisions, we find that the modern languages of India fall into five main classes, the Aryan, Dravidian, Munda, Mon-Khmer, and Tibeto-Chinese.[2]

To the Aryan languages belong two main groups, the Eranian and the Indo-Aryan. The Eranian group includes Pashto, spoken in Afghanistan, Baloch, used in Balochistan, and some minor dialects. Among the latter are the interesting Piśācha or Paiśāchī dialects, which are very archaic, and in many points strongly recall the Vedic. They are chiefly spoken in the highlands of the North-West, and form the basis of Kashmiri, where, however, they are hidden by an overgrowth of other Indo-Aryan elements. There are traces of the despised half-barbarous tribes called Piśāchas existing in ancient times in the Western Panjab and Sindh; but whether they entered India during the first or second series of invasions, or at some other time, is not clear.

The Indo-Aryan languages are the chief tongues of Northern India, and are derived from dialects spoken by the various invading tribes of Āryas, of whom some entered the Panjab on the western marches and left their record in the older hymns of the Ṛig-vēda, and others descended later through Chitral and Gilgit and settled in the Madhya-dēśa or Midland (above, pp. 8, 9). The earliest recorded tongues of these hordes may be broadly classified as the Vedic, used by the former, the classical Sanskrit, and the Primary Prakrits.[3] The

[1] The term "Dravidian" is rather misleading, for the ethnic type denoted by it includes not only the populations speaking Dravidian languages, but also the Munda and Mon-Khmer groups. See above, p. 31, note.

[2] Details will be found in the *Linguistic Survey of India* and the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, vol. i.

[3] Apart from the Prakrits, we find in early times the following literary dialects: (1) The Vedic, used in most of the hymns of the Ṛig-vēda, very rich in inflexions, with a musical or pitch accent; (2) the language

term "Prakrit" (from the Sanskrit word *prākṛita*, "being in a state of nature") is applied to all vernaculars, and denotes a certain amount of phonetic decay as compared with the literary standard. Traces of such vernaculars in an incipient stage of phonetic decrepitude are to be found in some old Vedic hymns, and they existed from the earliest known times in the Madhya-dēśa. These belong to the Primary Prakrits. To the next stage belong the Secondary Prakrits, some of which are known to have been in existence as early as the sixth and as late as the eleventh centuries. They shew all degrees of phonetic decay, from the Pali, which varies very little from the Sanskrit norm, to the Māhārāshṭrī, in which the consonantal backbone of words has almost wholly broken down; thus the Sanskrit word *vratam* is in Pali *vataṃ*, in Māhārāshṭrī *vaaṃ*. The chief of the Secondary Prakrits were the Māgadhī of Bihar, the Ardha-māgadhī of Oudh and Baghelkhand, the Śaurasēnī of the district around Muttra, and the Māhārāshṭrī of Berar. Their latest and most decrepit stage was the series of dialects called Apabhraṃśa, literally "decay," which, however, have given birth to a sturdy offspring, the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars or Tertiary Prakrits. These arose about the eleventh century. From Śaurasēnī Apabhraṃśa sprang Western Hindi and Panjabi; from the cognate Āvantī came Rajasthani and Gujarati, and from the Ardha-māgadhī Apabhraṃśa Eastern Hindi; from an unaffiliated Apabhraṃśa arose Lahnda and Kashmiri; from a Vrāchaḍa Apabhraṃśa Sindhi; from the Māhārāshṭrī Apabhraṃśa Marathi; from Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa Bihari, Oriya, Bengali, and Assamese. The chief modern vernaculars may be thus classified, with the number of persons speaking them according to the census of 1901:

of the Brāhmaṇas, very similar to the Vedic and derived from it, but with a greatly simplified accidence; (3) the Epic, still more simple, loose and colloquial, coinciding in its more regular forms with (4) the classical Sanskrit (*saṃskṛita*, "purified," "regularly formed"), the literary language established by the canons of the grammarians. Probably the great simplification that the Vedic tongue underwent in passing into the language of the Brāhmaṇas is due to the fierce struggles and social disorganisation following the irruptions of the second series of Aryan invaders. The Epic dialect may possibly represent the language of the upper classes of the Madhya-dēśa, mainly descendants of the second series of invaders and their Dravidian women; and classical Sanskrit may perhaps have arisen from a literary school which polished and regularised this secular Midland dialect, fusing it at the same time with the hieratic tongue of the Brāhmaṇas.

I. Language of Madhya-dēśa :	
Western Hindi	40,714,925
II. Intermediate Languages :	
(1) Nearer to Language of Madhya-dēśa :	
Rajasthani	10,917,712
Pahari	3,124,681
Gujarati	9,439,925
Panjabi	17,070,961
(2) Nearer to Outer Languages :	
Eastern Hindi	22,136,358
III. Outer Languages :	
(1) North-Western Group :	
Kashmiri	1,007,957
Kohistani	36
Lahnda	3,337,917
Sindhi	3,494,971
(2) Southern Group :	
Marathi	18,237,899
(3) Eastern Group :	
Bihari	34,579,844
Oriya	9,687,429
Bengali	44,624,048
Assamese	1,350,846

The relations of these vernaculars, in combination with the data of ethnography, suggest important conclusions as to the history of India. There is a broad distinction between the languages of the Madhya-dēśa and those of the Outer group ; and hence it is inferred that the former are descended from the language of the second series of Aryan invaders, and that the latter, before establishing themselves in the Madhya-dēśa, passed through the Panjab, and in their passage drove a number of Aryan tribes formerly settled there towards the south, east, and west, so that the languages of these districts came to be nearer to the Vedic than to the Midland tongue. Later, as the tribes of the Midland increased in numbers and power, they spread their influence over Oudh, Gujarat, Rajputana, and the Eastern Panjab, and overlaid the languages spoken in those regions with a greater or less amount of their own forms of speech.

The Dravidian languages are spoken by a number of races which belong to very different physical types. They may be classified as follows :

Tamil	spoken in 1901	by	17,494,901	persons
Malayalam	,,	,,	6,022,131	,,
Kanarese or Kannada	,,	,,	10,368,515	,,
Gondi	,,	,,	1,123,974	,,

Telugu . .	spoken in 1901 by	20,697,264	persons
Minor dialects .	" "	1,742,608	"
Brahui[1] . .	" "	48,589	"

The Munda or Kolarian vernaculars are chiefly spoken in Chota Nagpur and the neighbourhood; in the census of 1901 they were professed by 3,164,036 persons. The Mon-Khmer languages, though still covering a wide area in Indo-China, have dwindled down in India to the Khassi and some very small dialects spoken in the north-east. The Tibeto-Chinese family comprises a large number of languages in three groups—the Tibeto-Burman, Tai, and Chinese—of which the first is well represented in India by Tibetan, Burmese, and a series of intermediate dialects along the northern and north-eastern frontiers.

[1] The Brahuis ethnographically belong to the Turko-Eranian group, linguistically to the Dravidian.

CHAPTER II

CHRONOLOGY OF INDIA, TO THE YEAR 1200 A.D.

B.C. 600 Śiśu-nāga founded about 600 the Śaiśunāga dynasty, ruling over Magadha, a territory nearly identical with the modern Districts of Patna and Gaya. His successors were, according to tradition, Kāka-varṇa, Kshēma-dharman, Kshattraujas, Bimbi-sāra.

563 Gautama Buddha was born.

528 Bimbi-sāra (Śrēṇika), the Śaiśunāga king or Magadha, succeeded about 528. He is said to have captured Aṅga (Bhagalpur and Monghyr Districts), and to have strengthened his position by marriages with two princesses, one of the family of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī, the other of the royal house of Kōsala. The former bore him Ajāta-śatru (Kūṇika), to whom he is said to have surrendered the throne after reigning 28 years.

512 Darius of Persia about this time sent expeditions to India; he annexed the valley of the Indus, and his fleets sailed down the river. These Indian provinces paid 360 Euboic talents of gold-dust annually to Persia, and sent a contingent of archers. In the time of Alexander, however, the Panjab and Sindh were again free, and the Persian empire stopped at the Indus.

500 Ajāta-śatru of Magadha murdered his father Bimbi-sāra about 500. This led to war with Kōsala, in which he apparently was victorious, and with the Lichchhavis, whom he defeated, capturing Vaiśālī, and perhaps advancing to the foot of the Himalayas. He built a fortress, Pāṭaliputra, which later became the capital of Magadha.

490 Viḍūḍabha or Virūḍhaka of Kōsala about 490 massacred the Śākyas, the kinsmen of Gautama Buddha, and destroyed their town Kapila-vastu.

483 Gautama Buddha died.

475 Ajāta-śatru of Magadha died about 475. According to the Purāṇas, he was succeeded by his son Darśaka, whose son

B.C. 475 Udayin followed; Buddhist writers say that Udayin (or Udayi-bhadda) was the son and successor of Ajāta-śatru.

450 Udayin became king of Magadha about 450. He founded the capital Pāṭaliputra.

417 Nandi-vardhana succeeded Udayin, according to the Purāṇas, about 417, and was followed by Mahā-nandin.

371 The Nanda dynasty of Magadha was founded by the usurper Mahā-padma Nanda, son of Mahā-nandin by a Śūdra woman, about 371. It is said to have comprised nine kings.

327 Alexander the Great in the spring crossed the Khawak and Kaoshan passes of the Hindu Kush. He sent Hephaestion and Perdiccas on with large forces through the Kabul valley to seize Peucelaotis (the country of the Yusufzais). He himself made a series of minor conquests, overcoming the tribes in the hills north of the Kabul river, the Aspasii, and the Assaceni, capturing the latter's capital Massaga (possibly Manglawar, the ancient capital of Swat); then he beleaguered Aornus (probably Mahaban, about 70 miles east by north-east from Peshawar), received the submission of Peucelaotis, captured Aornus, made another attack upon the Assaceni, and advanced to the Indus.

326 Alexander at the bridge of the Indus (apparently at Ohind, some 16 miles above Attock) was visited by Āmbhi (Omphis) king of Taxila (Taksha-śilā, now ruins north-west of Rawalpindi), who brought a contingent of 700 horsemen and large supplies and did homage to Alexander, as his father had done a year previously. Āmbhi was at war with the kingdoms of Abhisāra (Rāja-purī, Rājaurī) and king Pōrus (Paurava ?), who ruled over what is now Jihlam, Gujarat, and Shahpur Districts. In the spring Alexander crossed the Indus at Ohind, and was joined by Āmbhi with 5000 men. He found Pōros confronting him on the opposite bank of the Hydaspes (Jihlam) with 30,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, and 200 elephants; but he crossed the river by a détour and routed the Indians. Pōros, wounded in the battle, did homage to Alexander. After making a raid upon the Glausae or Glaucanici and receiving the submission of the Abhisāra king and a younger Pōros, prince of Gandaris and nephew of the other Pōros, Alexander crossed the Acesines (Chinab) and Hydraotis (Ravi), stormed and razed Sangala (in Gurdaspur District), and was about to pass over the Hyphasis (Bias) when his troops mutinied, and he was compelled to retire (September). He reached the Chinab and the Jihlam rivers in safety, and on the latter equipped a fleet. Then, after having nominated Pōros as his vassal to rule over the territory between the Jihlam and

B.C. 326 Bias, he sailed down the Jihlam to its junction with the Chinab, reduced the Sibi and Agalassi, and collected his forces at the confluence of the Chinab and Ravi.

325 In January, Alexander crushed the Malli, and sailed down the Indus. Musicanus, a local king (possibly of Aror, the ancient capital of Sindh), now did homage to him, but soon afterwards revolted, upon which he was speedily suppressed and crucified. Two other kings, Oxycanus and Sambus, were reduced. Alexander then sent home Craterus with a large force through Kandahar and Seistan. He himself moved on to Patala (possibly Bahmanabad, six miles west from Mansuriya), and sailed down the western arm of the Indus to the sea; after this he sailed back to Patala, explored the eastern arm of the river, and then returned to Patala. Finally, early in October 325, he set out on his return from India through Gedrosia (Mukran), while Nearchus led the fleet through the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Euphrates.

323 Alexander died, and the Macedonian empire in India broke up into a number of little principalities at war with one another, which finally disappeared.

321 Chandra-gupta founded the MAURYA dynasty of Magadha about the end of 321. His father was a prince of the royal house, his mother of low birth, and he was banished by the Nanda king. In the troubles following on Alexander's death he collected troops, with which he fought successfully against the Macedonian garrisons and became dominant in the North-West. He then turned upon Magadha, slew the last Nanda king, and became ruler of Magadha, Aṅga, Benares, and Kōsala (Oudh), ultimately extending his authority from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal.

305 Seleucus Nicator of Syria, about 305, crossed the Indus into India, but was defeated by Chandra-gupta, who obtained from him the provinces of Paropanisadae (with capital Kabul), Arachosia (capital Kandahar), Aria (capital Herat), and Eastern Gedrosia, and apparently received a daughter of Seleucus in marriage.

296 Chandra-gupta died about 296, and was succeeded by his son Bindu-sāra (Amitra-khāda ?), who seems to have made his authority felt in the Dekhan, perhaps as far south as the latitude of Madras.

268 Aśōka succeeded his father Bindu-sāra as king of Magadha, apparently by usurpation, about 268.

264 Aśōka's anointment and coronation took place.

256 Aśōka, about 256, conquered Kaliṅga, the territory on the eastern coast between the Mahanadi and Godavari rivers. His empire extended from the Hindu Kush on the north-

B.C. 256 west to the Bay of Bengal, most of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, the lands at the foot of the Himalaya, Sindh, Kashmir, Nepal, Bengal, and Kaliṅga being either ruled directly by him or acknowledging his suzerainty. The Āndhra kingdom, between the Godavari and Kistna rivers, may have been under his influence, which possibly reached to the North Pennar river.

Being distressed by what he had witnessed in his campaign in Kaliṅga, Aśōka began to incline towards Buddhism. A few years later he began to issue his Edicts, enjoining the principles and practice of Buddhism, which were conveyed over the greater part of India and engraved on rocks, pillars, etc. Subsequently he made pilgrimages to the holy places of Buddhism, viz. the Lumbinī Garden (perhaps Piprawa in the north of Basti district), the Buddha's birthplace Kapilavastu (Tilaura Kot ?), Sarnath, Śrāvastī (on the upper Rapti river), Gaya, Kusinagara, where Buddha died, etc.

227 Aśōka resigned the throne to his grandson Daśa-ratha, and withdrew into the religious life at Suvarṇa-giri.

226 Aśōka died. Daśa-ratha reigned. As his successors the Purāṇas name Samprati, Śāliśūka, Dēva-dharman or Dēva-varman, Śata-dhanus, and Bṛihad-ratha. The Maurya empire gradually dwindled away.

220 The Āndhra dynasty was founded about 220 by Simuka. Its seat was the Telugu country, in the deltas of the Godavari and Kistna, of which the capital was Śrī-kākulam (Chicacole) ; it had been more or less under the influence of Aśōka, but threw off allegiance after his death.

The lists of this dynasty given in the Purāṇas are uncertain in many points. The Matsya-purāṇa gives the following:—Simuka, reigned 23 years ; Kṛishṇa, 18 ; Mallakarṇi, 10 ; Pūrṇōtsaṅga, 18 ; Skandha-stambhi, 18 ; Śātakarṇi, 56 ; Lambōdara, 18 ; Āpīlaka, 12 ; Mēgha-svāti, 18 ; Svāti, 18 ; Skanda-svāti, 7 ; Mṛigēndra Svāti-karṇa, 3 ; Kuntala Svāti-karṇa, 8 ; Svāti-varṇa, 1 ; Pulumāvi, 36 ; Arishṭa-karṇa, 25 ; Hāla, 5 ; Mantalaka, 5 ; Purīndra-sēna, 5 ; Sundara Śātakarṇi, 1 ; Chakōra Śātakarṇi, ½ ; Śiva-svāti, 28 ; Gautamī-putra, 21 ; Pulumāvi, 28 ; Śivaśrī, 7 ; Śiva-skanda Śātakarṇi, 7 ; Yajña-śrī Śātakarṇi, 29 ; Vijaya, 6 ; Chaṇḍa-śrī, 10 ; Pulumāvi, 7.

197 Kṛishṇa, perhaps the brother of the Āndhra king Simuka, succeeded the latter about 197.

195 Demetrius, son of Euthydemus I, the Hellenistic king of Bactria, invaded and conquered Afghanistan and the Panjab about 195.

190 Demetrius succeeded his father Euthydemus I about 190.

B.C. 185 Demetrius of Bactria was deprived of much of his territories by Eucratides about 185.

183 Bṛihad-ratha (Bṛihad-aśva, according to the Vāyu-purāṇa), the last Maurya king, was assassinated about 183 by his commander-in-chief Pushya-mitra, who founded the ŚUṄGA dynasty, under which the empire apparently did not extend beyond Tirhut, Bihar, Oudh, and perhaps a few minor provinces, the Narbada being the extreme southern boundary.

180 About this time reigned Euthydemus II, Pantaleon, and Agathocles (all three apparently of the dynasty of Euthydemus I) and Antimachus I in the North-West.

179 Śātakarṇi about 179 succeeded Kṛishṇa as king of Āndhra-deśa.

174 About the period 174–160 B.C. the ŚAKAS, originally a tribe of Turki pastoral nomads dwelling north of the Upper Jaxartes, were driven out by the Yueh-chi or Kushans, another Turki tribe, and moved southward.

170 Pushya-mitra's son Agni-mitra, who ruled as viceroy at Vidiśā (Bhilsa), defeated Yajña-sēna Śātakarṇi, prince of Vidarbha and Āndhra (nearly identical with Berar, the Central Provinces, and Haidarabad), about 170.

155 Menander (called by the Buddhists Milinda), a Hellenistic king ruling in the Panjab and Kabul, invaded Sindh about 155. He became master of the Indus valley, Kathiawar, and other provinces, captured Mathurā, and laid siege to Madhyamikā (now Nagari, near Chitor) and Sākēta (in Southern Oudh). His empire in these regions lasted until about 130 B.C.

153 Khāravēla, son of Vṛiddha-rāja and grandson of Kshēma-rāja, succeeded to the throne of Kaliṅga about 153. Some time afterwards he, with the aid of Yajña-sēna Śātakarṇi, penetrated into Magadha, and apparently forced Pushya-mitra to seek peace.

150 About 150–140 B.C. began the invasion of India by the Śakas from the North-West. A large part of the North and West came under their control, and they established satrapies in the North (at Taksha-śilā in the Panjab and at Mathurā) and in the West (Kathiawar, etc.), which probably were more or less under the suzerainty of the kings of Parthia. With these invaders came also Pahlavas, *i.e.* probably Parthians from Persia.

Antalcidas (in Panjab) and Bhāga-bhadra were reigning *c.* 150.

148 Pushya-mitra died about 148, and was succeeded by Agni-mitra. Somewhere in the later part of his reign Pushya-mitra claimed to be the paramount monarch of India, and as a token of this performed the Aśva-mēdha ceremony, in which the sacred horse was guarded by Vasu-mitra, son of Agni-mitra.

B.C. 140 Agni-mitra died about 140, and, according to some accounts, was followed by Sujyēshṭha.

133 Agni-mitra's son Vasu-mitra became king about 133. His successors are uncertain ; their names are given as Antaka, Ārdraka, or Andhraka (succeeded *circa* 125 ?), Pulindaka or Madhu-nandana (*circa* 123 ?), Ghōsha (*circa* 120 ?), Vajra-mitra or Vikrama-mitra (*circa* 117 ?), Bhāgavata (*circa* 108 ?), and Dēva-bhūmi or Kshēma-bhūti (*circa* 82 ?).

120 About 120 Strato I and II ruled in the North-West and Kabul.

72 Dēva-bhūmi, the last Śuṅga king, perished through a plot instigated by the Brahman minister Vasu-dēva, by whom the KĀṆVA dynasty was founded about 72.

63 Vasu-dēva was succeeded by Bhūmi-mitra about 63.

58 In this year begins the era commonly known as that of Vikramāditya. It appears to have been started to commemorate some event in the career of the Kushan king Kanishka, perhaps his coronation or (less probably) his traditional Buddhist Council. Kanishka, chief of the Kushan clan of the Yue-chi or Tokhari (see above, B.C. 174), established a kingdom in Northern India which extended eastwards as far as Benares and southwards to Sindh. His reign is known to have lasted at least eleven years, and possibly may have continued eighteen years or more. The next of this dynasty on record is Vāsishka (? *c.* 34–30 ; see below).

49 Nārāyaṇa succeeded Bhūmi-mitra about 49.

37 Suśarman succeeded Nārāyaṇa about 37.

34 The Kushan king Vāsishka apparently was reigning at this time, his inscriptions being dated from the 24th to the 28th years of perhaps the era which begins in 58 B.C. (see above).

27 Suśarman was slain by an Āndhra king about 27, and the Kāṇva dynasty came to an end.

25 Huvishka, the Kushan king, who is the third recorded member of the dynasty founded by Kanishka, may have been reigning now ; his inscriptions are dated from the 33rd to the 60th years of the era which perhaps begins at 58 B.C. (see above).

22 A Pāṇḍya king is said to have sent an embassy to Augustus Caesar, which he received at Samos B.C. 22–20 (or 26).

A.D. 15 Śoṇḍāsa (Śuḍasa), son of Rājūvula (Rajula), a (Śaka ?) satrap of Mathurā, was reigning in the 72nd year of an era which is apparently that of Kanishka. His nephew Kharaosta may be placed between 15 and 30 A.D.

21 A king named Moga began to reign in the North-West in the 78th year of an era which is probably that of Kanishka ; among his vassals were Liaka Kusulaka and his son Patika, (Śaka ?) satraps of Taksha-śilā.

A.D. 21 Gondophernes, of the INDO-PARTHIAN dynasty ruling in Kandahar, Seistan, and for a time the Western Panjab and Sindh, succeeded in 21, and was reigning in the Paujab in A.D. 47. After his death his brother's son Abdagases apparently reigned in Western Panjab, while Sindh and Arachosia fell to Orthagnes and later to Pacores.

33 Vāsudēva, the fourth recorded member of the Kushan dynasty founded by Kanishka, was perhaps reigning now, his inscriptions bearing dates from the 74th to the 98th years of perhaps the era which was begun in 58 B.C. (see above). He seems to have partially restored the Kushan kingdom in the Eastern Panjab, but hardly beyond.

50 About this time, according to Tamil tradition, lived Karikāl Chōḷa, Neḍuñ-jeḷiyan I Pāṇḍya, and the Chēras Ādan I and II, who stand near the beginning of the historical records of the CHŌḶAS, PĀṆḌYAS, and CHĒRAS respectively.

Karikāl is said to have been a son of Iḷañ-jēṭ-śenni, and to have fought with success against the Chēra Ādan I, the Pāṇḍyas, and others. He was succeeded, perhaps about the end of the century, by his son Śēṭ-śenni Nalaṅ-kiḷḷi.

Neḍuñ-jeḷiyan is said to have defeated an army of an Aryan king in the Dekhan, and to have been followed by Veṟṟi-vēṟ-śeḷiyan (possibly about 75–90).

Ādan I, according to tradition, was defeated and wounded in the back at Veṇṇil when making war in alliance with the Pāṇḍyas against Karikāl, and for shame starved himself to death. His successor, Ādan II, married a daughter of Karikāl, and reigned perhaps from about 55 to 90.

60 About 60 another Kushan king, Kozulo Kadphises, after consolidating the five principalities of the Yue-chi or Tokhari, invading Parthia, and founding a kingdom which extended from the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea to the Pamirs, took Kabul (from the Indo-Parthians, probably Gondophernes or his successor). His son Wema Kadphises conquered Northern India, where Tokhari chiefs ruled until the middle of the fourth century.

78 About this time Vāsishṭhī-putra Viḷivāya-kura of the Āndhra dynasty succeeded. He is identified by some with Chakōra of the Puranic lists (see above, B.C. 220). His successor, about the same time, was Māṭharī-putra Sivala-kura, perhaps the same as Māḍhari-puta Svāmi-Sakasēna mentioned in some inscriptions; he ruled over Āndhra-dēśa, Kolhapur, and the Northern Konkan, and is supposed to be the Śiva-svāti of the Purāṇas.

The Śaka era begins in this year; see p. 95.

100 About this time is said to have reigned the Chōḷa Śēṭ-śenni Nalaṅ-kiḷḷi. He is believed to have suppressed a rebellion

A.D. 100 raised by Neḍuṅ-kiḷḷi, and to have fought with some success against the Pāṇḍyas. He was apparently followed by Kiḷḷi-vaḷavan, his brother (possibly *c.* 105–120), who is said to have been worsted at Madura by the Pāṇḍyas, and to have successfully raided the Chēra land up to the walls of Vañji. His successor is said to have been Peru-naṟ-kiḷḷi, who performed a Rāja-sūya sacrifice.

About the same time the Pāṇḍya Neḍuñ-jeḻiyan II is said to have succeeded his father Veṟṟi-vēṟ-śeḻiyan. Early in his reign, according to tradition, occurred the invasion by Kiḷḷi-vaḷavan. He is said to have attacked the Chōḷas, fought against the allied Chōḷas, Chēras, and others, worsted them at Ālaṅgānam, and subsequently overrun the Chēra land. He was succeeded by Ugra-peru-vaḻudi, after whom came Nan-māṟan (who perhaps died *c.* 150).

The Chēra Śeṅ-guṭṭuvan or Imaya-varman, according to tradition, succeeded his father Ādan II about 100. He is said to have captured Viyalūr, supported the Chōḷa Kiḷḷi-vaḷavan in suppressing a revolt, subsequently attacked the Chōḷas, and led an expedition to the north in which he vanquished the Aryan princes Kanaka and Vijaya north of the Ganges, after which he performed the Rāja-sūya sacrifice. He was succeeded (possibly about 125) by Śēy (Yānai-kaṭ-śēy), who carried on wars against the Pāṇḍya Neḍuñ-jeḻiyan II, who captured him, and the Chōḷa Peru-naṟ-kiḷḷi. His successor (possibly *c.* 135) was Peruñ-jēral Irum-boṟai.

106 Gautamī-putra Viḷivāya-kura of the Āndhra dynasty succeeded about 106.

124 The Āndhra king Gautamī-putra Viḷivāya-kura overcame, about 124, the Kshaharāta king Nahapāna. His conquests included Gujarat, parts of Malwa, Central India, and Berar, the region north of Nasik, the Nasik and Poona districts, and the Northern Konkan, most of which were taken from Nahapāna. Soon after, Nahapāna's territories north of the Narbada were recovered by Chashṭana, son of Ghsamotika, probably a Śaka, whose capital was in Ujjayinī, or one of his successors.

131 Vāsishṭhī-putra Pulumāvi, Āndhra king, succeeded *c.* 131.

145 The Western Mahā-kshatrapa Rudra-dāman I, son of Jaya-dāman and grandson of Chashṭana, made war against the Āndhra king Pulumāvi, his son-in-law, defeated him, and became independent sovereign of Kathiawar, Kachchh, Malwa, Sindh, the Konkan, etc., recovering most of the territories taken by Viḷivāya-kura from Nahapāna in 124, except the districts of Poona and Nasik. He was reigning in 150.

A.D. 145 Rudra-dāman was succeeded after 150 by his son Dāmaghsada or Dāmajada-śrī I, and the latter by his son Satya-dāman.

155 Vāsishṭhī-putra Śiva-śrī Śātakarṇi of the Āndhra dynasty reigned *c.* 155.

165 Vāsishṭhī-putra Chandra-śāti of the Āndhra dynasty, supposed to be the same as the Śiva-skanda of the Purāṇas, was reigning *c.* 165.

169 Gautamī-putra Yajña Śātakarṇi of the Āndhra dynasty succeeded about 169.

178 Jīva-dāman reigned in succession to his father Dāmaghsada I as Mahā-kshatrapa of the West. He reigned again in 197–198, after Rudra-siṃha.

180 Rudra-siṃha I, son of Rudra-dāman I, was reigning in succession to his nephew Jīva-dāman. In 180–181 and 188–190 he bore the title Kshatrapa, in 181–188 and 191–197 that of Mahā-kshatrapa.

197 Jīva-dāman, the Western Mahā-kshatrapa, again reigned.

199 Rudra-sēna I, son of the Western Kshatrapa Rudra-siṃha I, was reigning in succession to the latter. In 200–222 he bore the title of Mahā-kshatrapa.

200 Gautamī-putra Yajña Śātakarṇi of the Āndhra dynasty died about 200. The old dynasty (Śātavāhanas) now lost control of the western provinces, which passed into the hands of another family of Śātakarṇis, the CHUṬU-KULA. It came to an end probably in the first half of the third century.

Of the Chuṭu dynasty two kings are known, Hārītī-putra Chuṭu-kaḍānanda Śātakarṇi and his grandson Hārītī-putra Śiva-skanda-varman, who ruled in Banawasi (Vaijayantipura) before the Kadamba dynasty.

222 Pṛithivī-sēna, son of Rudra-sēna I, was reigning as Western Kshatrapa, in succession to the latter.

In the same year Saṅgha-dāman, son of Rudra-siṃha I, was ruling as Mahā-kshatrapa of the West, apparently in succession to his nephew Pṛithivī-sēna.

223 Dāma-sēna, son of Rudra-siṃha I, was ruling as Mahā-kshatrapa of the West, in succession to his brother Saṅgha-dāman. He reigned until at least 236.

232 Dāmajada-śrī II, son of Rudra-sēna I, was ruling as Western Kshatrapa.

234 Vīra-dāman, son of Dāma-sēna, was ruling as Western Kshatrapa, in succession to Dāmajada-śrī II.

236 Between 236 and 239 Īśvara-datta was ruling as a Mahā-kshatrapa of the West. Some scholars, without sufficient grounds, connect him with the Ābhīra dynasty in Nasik represented *c.* 248 by Īśvara-sēna. Probably he had gained a temporary success over the dynasty of Chashṭana.

A.D. 238 Yaśō-dāman I, son of Dāma-sēna, reigned as Western Kshatrapa, in succession to his brother Vīra-dāman. In 239 he bore the title of Mahā-kshatrapa.

Vijaya-sēna, son of Dāma-sēna, reigned as Western Kshatrapa, in succession to his brother Yaśō-daman I, from 238 to 240; from 240 to 250 he was Mahā-kshatrapa.

248 The Kaḷachuri or Chēdi era begins in 248 or 249. It was perhaps founded by the Ābhīra Īśvara-sēna or his father Śiva-datta, who reigned about this time in Nasik.

250 Dāmajada-śrī III, son of Dāma-sēna, succeeded his brother Vijaya-sēna as Mahā-kshatrapa of the West about 250.

256 Rudra-sēna II, son of Vīra-dāman, was reigning in succession to his uncle Dāmajada-śrī III as Western Mahā-kshatrapa about 256.

277 Viśva-siṃha, son of Rudra-sēna II, was reigning; he was Kshatrapa in 277–279, Mahā-kshatrapa later.

279 Bhartṛi-dāman, son of Rudra-sēna II, was reigning in succession to Viśva-siṃha; he was Kshatrapa of the West in 279–282, Mahā-kshatrapa from a somewhat later date until 295.

294 Viśva-sēna, son of Bhartṛi-dāman, was ruling as Western Kshatrapa.

305 Rudra-siṃha II was reigning as Western Kshatrapa. His pedigree is traced back to a certain Jīva-dāman, and its connection with the family of Chashṭana, if any there be, is unknown.

317 Yaśō-dāman II was reigning as Western Kshatrapa, in succession to Rudra-siṃha II. He reigned until at least 332. After him there is a blank in the dynasty until Rudra-sēna II, who reigned some time before 348 as Mahā-kshatrapa.

320 Chandra-gupta, chief of a small principality near Pāṭaliputra, and first of the Gupta dynasty, became independent and founded the Gupta era beginning at 320. He was son of Ghaṭōtkacha and grandson of Gupta or Śrī-gupta, and married Kumāra-dēvī, a Lichchhavi princess. He gradually built up an empire over the valley of the Ganges including Magadha, as far as Allahabad, Tirhut, Bihar, and Oudh.

335 Samudra-gupta succeeded his father Chandra-gupta of Magadha about 335. He launched upon a series of campaigns in the North and South, by which he extended his empire so as to include the whole of the Ganges basin from the Hughli to the Jamna and Chambal and from the foot of the Himalaya to the Narbada, establishing also a more or less defined suzerainty over the frontier states, viz. Sama-taṭa (Ganges delta), Kāma-rūpa (Assam), Davāka (between the two former?), Nepal, Kartṛi-pura (in the lower ranges of the Himalaya?), the Panjab up to the Chinab, Eastern Rajputana, Malwa, etc.

A.D. 335 In the North, Samudra-gupta overcame Rudra-dēva, Matila, Nāga-datta, Chandra-varman, Gaṇa-pati Nāga, Nāga-sēna, Achyuta, Nandin, Bala-varman, and others.

In the South, Samudra-gupta defeated Mahēndra of Kōsala, Vyāghra-rāja of Mahā-kāntāra, Maṇṭa-rāja of Kolleru, Mahēndra of Piṭhāpuram, Svāmi-datta of Koṭṭūra, Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla, Vishṇu-gōpa of Conjevaram, Nīla-rāja of Avamukta, Hasti-varman of Vēṅgī, Ugra-sēna of Palakka, Kubēra of Dēva-rāshṭra, Dhanaṃjaya of Kusthala-pura, etc. He thus overran the South as far as Conjevaram on the east and Khandesh on the west.

If the king Vishṇu-gōpa of Conjevaram defeated by Samudra-gupta is the same as the Vishṇu-gōpa mentioned by inscriptions among the PALLAVAS OF CONJEVARAM, he was the son of Skanda-varman II, son of Vīra-varman, son of Skanda-varman I. Before Skanda-varman I four other Pallava kings are named on inscriptions, viz. Vijaya-Skanda-varman, Vijaya-Buddha-varman (as heir-apparent), the latter's son Buddhyaṅkura, and Śiva-skanda-varman. Vishṇu-gōpa was succeeded by his son Siṃha-varman, after whom came Vīra-Kōrcha-varman.

348 Rudra-sēna III was ruling in succession to his father Rudra-dāman II as Mahā-kshatrapa of the West. He reigned until at least 378.

371 The Varika prince Vishṇu-vardhana was ruling in the neighbourhood of Bijaygarh. He was son of Yaśō-vardhana, son of Yaśō-rāta, son of Vyāghra-rāta.

380 Chandra-gupta II (Vikramāditya) about 380 succeeded his father Samudra-gupta. Apparently he suppressed a revolt in Bengal. He crossed the delta of the Indus, defeated the Vāhlikas (in Panjab ?), marched through Malwa and Gujarat to the Arabian Sea, and annexed Malwa and Kathiawar, overthrowing the Western Kshatrapas (*c.* 409).

382 Siṃha-sēna, nephew of Rudra-sēna III, was ruling as Western Mahā-kshatrapa, apparently in succession to the latter. He was followed by his son Rudra-sēna IV, after whom there is a blank in the dynasty until Satya-siṃha, before 388.

388 Rudra-siṃha III, son of Satya-siṃha, was reigning about 388 as Western Mahā-kshatrapa, in succession to the latter.

400 About this time lived Ōgha-dēva, with whom begins the dynasty of the Maharajas of UCHCHA-KALPA in Baghelkhand, feudatories of the Guptas. He was followed by his son Kumāra-dēva, his son Jaya-svāmin, his son Vyāghra, his son Jaya-nātha (*c.* A.D. 493 ; see below).

413 Kumāra-gupta I succeeded his father Chandra-gupta II of Magadha.

A.D. 423 Viśva-varman, son (?) of Nara-varman, was reigning in the neighbourhood of Gangdhar (Western Malwa).

430 About this time lived Indra-datta, of the TRAIKŪṬAKA dynasty, reigning in Southern Gujarat and the Konkan.

Kidāra, prince of the Great Kushans, founded about 430 the kingdom of the Little Kushans in Gandhāra, and made his son viceroy at Peshawar.

437 Bandhu-varman, son and successor of Viśva-varman, was ruling in Daśa-pura (Mandasor, in Western Malwa) as feudatory of Kumāra-gupta I.

455 Skanda-gupta (Vikramāditya) succeeded his father Kumāra-gupta I of Magadha. He brought to a successful issue the war with the Pushya-mitra tribe, begun under Kumāra-gupta, and defeated the WHITE HUNS or Ephthalites, who after an attack on the Kushan kingdom of Kabul were now pouring into India.

Many of the hordes that now began to enter India in these invasions became assimilated, and later claimed Kshatriya origin, especially in Rajputana. Among them were apparently the Gurjaras (related to the modern Gujar tribe), who founded a kingdom in Rajputana, of which the capital was Bhinmal, some 50 miles N.W. of Mount Abu, and perhaps also the Chalukyas or Solaṅkīs and the Chāpas.

456 Dahra-sēna, son of Indra-datta of the Traikūṭaka dynasty, was reigning.

458 Bhīma-varman was ruling as feudatory of Skanda-gupta at Kosam.

465 Śarva-nāga was ruling in the Antarvēdī country as feudatory of Skanda-gupta.

470 Skanda-gupta about 470–480 was engaged in a second war with the invading White Huns, who about 470 overthrew the Little Kushans of Gandhāra.

475 The Parivrājaka Maharaja Hastin was ruling at Tripurī in Ḍabhālā (Ḍāhāla or Western Chēdi) 475–482. The dynasty of PARIVRĀJAKAS begins with Dēvāḍhya, who was followed by his son Prabhañjana, his son Dāmōdara, his son Hastin, and his son Saṅkshōbha (A.D. 518 ; see below); they were feudatories of the Guptas of Magadha.

480 Pura-gupta about 480 succeeded (his brother ?) Skanda-gupta of Magadha.

About this time lived Kṛishṇa-gupta, with whom begins the pedigree of the LATER GUPTAS OF MAGADHA. He was followed by his son Harsha-gupta, his son Jīvita-gupta I, his son Kumāra-gupta (*c.* 564 ; see below), etc.

Hari-varman, with whom begins the pedigree of the MAUKHARIS, seems to have lived about 480. He was

A.D. 480 followed by his son Āditya-varman, his son Īśvara-varman, his son Īśāna-varman (*c.* A.D. 560; see below), etc.

Bhaṭārka, with whom begins the pedigree of the MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ (Wala in Kathiawar), ruled about 480 as *sēnā-pati* (general). He was followed by his sons Dhara-sēna I and Drōṇa-siṃha (*c.* 502; see below), etc. The dynasty was at first subordinate to the Guptas and then to the Huns, and later became independent.

Vyāghra-sēna, son of Dahra-sēna, of the Traikūṭaka dynasty, was reigning.

484 Budha-gupta was reigning in Central India. Among his feudatories were Suraśmi-chandra, in the region between the Jamna and Narbada, and Mātṛi-vishṇu and his younger brother Dhanya-vishṇu in the neighbourhood of Eran.

485 Narasiṃha-gupta (Bālāditya) about 485 succeeded (his father?) Pura-gupta of Magadha.

493 Apparently Jaya-nātha of Uchcha-kalpa (Unchahra, in Nagod State), feudatory of the Guptas, was reigning 493–6, in succession to his father Vyāghra. He was followed by his son Śarva-nātha (*c.* 508; see below).

495 A great invasion of White Huns under Toramāna took place about 495, by which the Gupta empire was for the time overthrown. Toramāna became master of Malwa, etc.

500 About the first half of the sixth century lived Kākutstha-varman, of the dynasty of the KADAMBAS OF BANAWASI (Vaijayantī). The pedigree of this dynasty is as follows. The founder was Mayūra-śarman, who about 450 got a fief from the Pallavas of Conjevaram. He was followed by his son Kaṅga-varman; his son Bhagīratha; his son Raghu; his brother Kākutstha-varman (who married his daughters to Gupta and other kings); the latter's son Śānti-varman; his sons Mṛigēśa-varman and Māndhātṛi-varman; Mṛigēśa-varman's sons Ravi-varman (who conquered Vishṇu-varman and others), Bhānu-varman, and Śiva-ratha; Ravi-varman's son Hari-varman; Śānti-varman's younger brother Kṛishṇa-varman I; his sons Vishṇu-varman and Dēva-varman (who is recorded only as heir-apparent); Vishṇu-varman's son Siṃha-varman; his son Kṛishṇa-varman II. They reigned at Vaijayantī (Banawasi), Palāśikā (Halsi), etc., and seem to have risen through successful struggles against the Gaṅgas and Pallavas. Mṛigēśa-varman defeated both the latter; and Ravi-varman conquered Chaṇḍa-daṇḍa of Conjevaram, probably a Pallava.

502 Drōṇa-siṃha, Maitraka of Valabhī, succeeded his brother Dhara-sēna I, and bore the title of Maharaja.

508 Śarva-nātha of Uchcha-kalpa, feudatory of the Guptas, was

A.D. 508 apparently reigning 508–533, in succession to his father Jaya-nātha.

510 Toramāna died *c.* 510, and his son Mihiragula reigned at Sākala (Sialkot) over his Indian territories.

518 The Parivrājaka Maharaja Saṅkshōbha was reigning 518–528, in succession to his father Hastin.

520 Nara-vardhana, with whom begins the pedigree of Harsha-vardhana of Thanesar and Kanauj, reigned about this time in Thanesar. He was followed by his son Rājya-vardhana I, his son Āditya-vardhana, his son Prabhākara-vardhana (*c.* 580; see below), etc.

526 Dhruva-sēna I, Maitraka, king of Valabhī, was reigning 526–540, in succession to his brother Drōṇa-siṃha. He was followed by his brother Dhara-paṭṭa, his son Guha-sēna (A.D. 559 ; see below), etc.

528 An Indian confederacy, led by Narasiṃha-gupta of Magadha and Yaśō-dharman, a king of Central India, defeated Mihiragula about 528 and took him prisoner. He was sent out of India, a younger brother seizing upon his kingdom at Sākala. He was befriended by a king of Kashmir, whom he afterwards dethroned, and then obtained possession of the kingdom of Gandhāra. He died soon after this.

Yaśō-dharman now (to *c.* 532) claimed to be the lord of Northern India from the Brahma-putra river to the Arabian Sea, and from the Himalaya to Mount Mahēndra in Ganjam.

530 Kumāra-gupta II about 530 succeeded his father Narasiṃha-gupta of Magadha.

550 About this time, probably about A.D. 550, the dynasty of the WESTERN CHĀLUKYAS OF BADAMI was founded by Pula-kēśin I, son of Raṇa-rāga, son of Jaya-siṃha I, who took Vātāpi (the modern Badami) and made it the capital of his dynasty.

The later Chālukya tradition asserted that fifty-nine kings of their family had reigned in Ayōdhyā, and sixteen after them in the south, previous to Jaya-siṃha : but the family was a local one, which rose to power as the influence of the Kadambas declined.

About 550 reigned the ŚILŌDBHAVA Mādhava-rāja I, feudatory of the kings of Karṇa-suvarṇa. His son was Yaśō-bhīta, his son Mādhava-rāja II (A.D. 619 ; see below).

559 Guha-sēna, Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning 559–567, in succession to his father Dhara-paṭṭa.

560 The Maukhari Īśāna-varman was reigning about 560, in succession to his father Īśvara-varman. He was followed by his son Śarva-varman.

A.D. 560 Kṛishṇa-rāja, the first of the earlier KAḶACHURIS or Kaṭachuris, lived about 560. He was followed by his son Śaṅkaragaṇa and his son Buddha-rāja (A.D. 609 ; see below).

About this time lived Siṃha-vishṇu, Pallava king of Conjevaram, who was followed by his son Mahēndra-varman I, his son Narasiṃha-varman I (*c.* 610 ; see below), etc.

564 About this time Kumāra-gupta, of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, was reigning. He carried on a war with the Maukhari Īśāna-varman, and was followed by his son Dāmōdara-gupta (who was killed in a war with the Maukharis) and the latter's son Mahā-sēna-gupta (*c.* A.D. 600 ; see below).

566 About this year the W. Chālukya Kīrti-varman I succeeded his father Pulakēśin I. He is recorded to have defeated the kings of Aṅga, Bengal, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, and Vaijayantī, the Madrakas, Kēralas, Gaṅgas, Mūshakas, Naḷas, Mauryas (of the Konkan ?), Kadambas, Pāṇḍyas, Dramiḷas (*i.e.* Tamils), Chōḷas, and Āḷukas.

571 Dhara-sēna II, Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning 571–589, in succession to his father Guha-sēna. He possessed continental Gujarat as far as the Mahi.

580 Prabhākara-vardhana of Thanesar succeeded his father Āditya-vardhana about 580. He carried on wars against the Huns, the Gurjaras, and the kings of Gandhāra, Sindh, and Malwa.

Pravara-sēna I, the first of the VĀKĀṬAKA dynasty ruling in Bundelkhand and the Central Provinces, lived about this time. He was followed by his son Gautamī-putra, his son Rudra-sēna I, his son Pṛithvī-shēṇa, his son Rudra-sēna II, and his son Pravara-sēna II (*c.* A.D. 700 ; see below).

The Sāmanta Dadda I, with whom begins the pedigree of the GURJARAS of Gujarat, ruled about 580. He was followed by his son Jaya-bhaṭa I, his son Dadda II (A.D. 628 ; see below), etc.

This Gurjara kingdom had its capital at Bharoch, and included Central Gujarat and the northern territories of Southern Gujarat.

587 The astronomer Varāha-mihira died.

590 Pūrṇa-varman, called by Hiuen Tsang the last of Aśōka's descendants, was about 590 reigning in W. Magadha.

Jaya-siṃha, the first of the dynasty of CHALUKYAS OF GUJARAT, reigned about 590.

597 The W. Chālukya Maṅgalēśa succeeded his elder brother Kīrti-varman I *c.* 597. He is recorded to have conquered Buddha-rāja the Kaḷachurya and the Mātaṅgas, slain the Chālukya Svāmi-rāja, and taken Rēvatī-dvīpa.

A.D. 600 Mahā-sēna-gupta, of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, was reigning about 600, in succession to his father Dāmōdara-gupta. He was followed by his son Mādhava-gupta, a contemporary of Harsha-vardhana of Kanauj.

Bhānu-śakti, of the SENDRAKA dynasty ruling in the neighbourhood of Bagumra (Southern Gujarat), lived about 600. He was followed by his son Āditya-śakti and his son Nikumbhalla-śakti (A.D. 654; see below). This dynasty seems to have been at first feudatories of the Kaḷachuris and later of the W. Chālukyas.

About 600 lived the Rāshṭrakūṭa Durga-rāja, father of Gōvinda-rāja, father (?) of Svāmika-rāja, father of Nanda-rāja (A.D. 709; see below), ruling in the neighbourhood of Multai, Central Provinces.

The Śālaṅkāyana Maharajas of Vēṅgī-pura (probably Pedda Vēgi, near Ellore) may be placed about 600, or a little later. Of this family, Chaṇḍa-varman, his son Vijaya-Nandi-varman, and Vijaya-Dēva-varman, are known.

605 Rājya-vardhana II succeeded his father Prabhākara-vardhana of Thanesar. In the same year he defeated the king of Malwa, who had killed his brother-in-law, the Maukhari Graha-varman; but he was murdered by Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, and was succeeded by his younger brother Harsha-vardhana.

Śīlāditya I (Dharmāditya), Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning 605–609, in succession to his father Dhara-sēna II. He was succeeded by his brother Khara-graha I, his sons Dhara-sēna III and Dhruva-sēna II (A.D. 629; see below), etc.

606 Harsha-vardhana of Thanesar made an alliance with Bhāskara-varman of Kāma-rūpa, and attacked Kanauj and Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa. He gradually built up an empire embracing the greater part of North-Western India, with perhaps part of Bengal (606–612).

609 The Kaḷachuri Buddha-rāja was reigning, in succession to his father Śaṅkara-gaṇa.

610 About 610 the W. Chālukya Pulakēśin II, son of Kīrti-varman I, succeeded Maṅgalēśa. He is recorded to have defeated the Gaṅgas, Āḷupas, Mauryas of Konkan, Lāṭas (of Southern Gujarat), Gurjaras (of North Gujarat?), Mālavas, Kaliṅgas, Kōsalas, Pallavas of Conjevaram, three Mahā-rāshṭra princes, etc., and to have assumed the protection of the Chōḷas, Kēralas, and Pāṇḍyas, besides his great victory over Harsha-vardhana of Thanesar. He was, however, worsted later by the Pallava Narasiṃha-varman I, who captured Vātāpi and several times defeated Pulakēśin.

A.D. 610 The Pallava Narasiṃha-varman I was followed by his son Mahēndra-varman II, his son Paramēśvara-varman I (*c.* 655; see below), etc.

Satyāśraya Dhruva-rāja Indra-varman was governing Rēvatī-dvīpa under Pulakēśin II.

Buddha-varman, Chalukya king of Gujarat, reigned about 610, in succession to his father Jaya-siṃha.

615 Vishṇu-vardhana I (Biṭṭ'-arasa, Kubja Vishṇu-vardhana) was made viceroy by his elder brother the W. Chālukya Pulakēśin II of Vātāpi, and founded the dynasty of the EASTERN CHĀLUKYAS OF VĒṄGĪ. He became independent, and reigned until at least 632. He was succeeded by his son Jaya-siṃha I, who reigned 33 years, the latter's nephew Vishṇu-vardhana II (*c.* A.D. 663; see below), etc.

619 Śaśāṅka, king of Karṇa-suvarṇa (Gauḍa), was still reigning. Among his feudatories was the Śilōdbhava Mādhava-rāja II, son and successor of Yaśō-bhīta.

620 Harsha-vardhana was defeated about 620 by the Chālukya Pulakēśin II, and his southern frontier limited to the Narbada.

625 Varma-lāta, possibly king of Śrī-māla (Bhinmal), was reigning in Rajputana. His feudatory Vajra-bhaṭa governed Mount Arbuda (Abu); the latter's son Rājjila patronised Vaṭa (Vasantgarh?) in 625.

628 The Gurjara Dadda II was reigning 628–640 in Gujarat, in succession to his father Jaya-bhaṭa I. He was followed by his son Jaya-bhaṭa II, his son Dadda III, and his son Jaya-bhaṭa III (A.D. 706; see below).

The Chāpa king Vyāghra-mukha was reigning in Rajputana.

The astronomer Brahma-gupta finished the Brahma-siddhānta in this year.

629 Dhruva-sēna II (Bālāditya), Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning 629–639, in succession to his brother Dhara-sēna III.

630 Durlabha-vardhana, the founder of the Kārkōṭa dynasty of Kashmir, was apparently reigning. He was followed by his son Pratāpāditya II (Durlabhaka, said to have reigned 50 years), his son Vajrāditya-Chandrāpīḍa (A.D. 713; see below), etc.

635 Śiva-dēva I, the first recorded member of the LICHCHHAVI dynasty in E. Nepal, was reigning about 635. The next of the dynasty on record are Dhruva-dēva (A.D. 654) and Vṛisha-dēva; see below. Śiva-dēva was contemporary with Aṃśu-varman, of the ṬHĀKURĪ dynasty of W. Nepal, who perhaps became independent after 648.

A.D. 635 Dhruva-sēna II of Valabhī about 635 was defeated by Harsha-vardhana, and became his feudatory and son-in-law. Harsha-vardhana apparently became master of Ānanda-pura (Varnagar), Kachchh (?), and Southern Kathiawar, and finally extended his empire to include the basin of the Ganges from the Himalaya to the Narbada, Malwa, Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Assam.

642 Vijaya-rāja, Chalukya king of Gujarat, was reigning in succession to his father Buddha-varman.

643 Harsha-vardhana attacked Ganjam.

644 Sihras Rāi, a Śūdra, was reigning in Sindh. His father Dīwajī had been killed by Arab invaders in Mukran, which they had seized.

645 Dhara-sēna IV, Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning 645–649, in succession to his father Dhruva-sēna II.

646 Sāhasī, son of Sihras Rāi of Sindh, was killed by the Arabs. Chach, a Brahman minister, now ruled Sindh for 40 years, and was succeeded by his brother Chandar (8 years).

647 Harsha-vardhana died in 647–8. His minister Arjuna or Aruṇāśva usurped the throne, but was defeated and taken prisoner by the Chinese ambassador Wang Hiuen-tsŭ, aided by the Tibetan king Srong-btsan-sgam-po. The empire of Harsha-vardhana dissolved.

649 Dhara-sēna IV of Valabhī was in possession of Bhṛigu-kachchha (Broach or Bharoch), the Gurjara capital.

650 About 650 the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty began with Danti-varman I, of the Sātyaki race of Yādavas, who was succeeded by his son Indra-rāja I.

653 Dhruva-sēna III, Maitraka king of Valabhī, son of Ḍēra-bhaṭa, son of Śīlāditya I, was reigning, apparently in succession to Dhara-sēna IV.

654 Dhruva-dēva the Lichchhavi was ruling in E. Nepal, and Jishṇu-gupta, of the Ṭhākurī dynasty, in W. Nepal.

The Sendraka Nikumbhalla-śakti, son of Āditya-śakti, was reigning in the neighbourhood of Bagumra (Southern Gujarat).

655 About 655 the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya I succeeded his father Pulakēśin II. He defeated the Pallavas Narasiṃha-varman I, Mahēndra-varman II, and Paramēśvara-varman I. Paramēśvara-varman is said to have repulsed Vikramāditya, who, however, apparently suppressed the revolted Pallavas, Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, and Kēralas, and captured Conjevaram. Among his feudatories was the Sendraka Dēva-śakti.

Dharāśraya Jaya-siṃha-varman, younger brother of the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya I, ruled as his feudatory in

A.D. 655 Gujarat about this time, or somewhat later. Chandrāditya, an elder brother, was governing Savantvadi in 659; some years later Āditya-varman, another brother, was ruling the district near the junction of the Kistna and Tuṅga-bhadrā.

The Pallava Paramēśvara-varman I was succeeded by his son Narasiṃha-varman II and the latter's sons Mahēndra-varman III and Paramēśvara-varman II.

656 Khara-graha II (Dharmāditya), Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning in succession to his younger brother Dhruva-sēna III.

660 The Lichchhavi Vṛisha-dēva was ruling in E. Nepal, apparently in succession to Dhruva-dēva. He was followed by his son Śaṅkara-dēva, his son Dharma-dēva, his son Māna-dēva (*c.* A.D. 705; see below), etc.

661 Aparājita, the earliest known king of the dynasty of GUHILAS OF MEWAR, was reigning. The next on record in this family is Bappa (*c.* 750; see below).

663 The E. Chālukya Vishṇu-vardhana II, son of Jaya-siṃha I's younger brother Indra-bhaṭṭāraka, succeeded Jaya-siṃha I *c.* 663.

669 Śīlāditya III, Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning 669–684 (?). He was son of Śīlāditya II, an elder brother of Khara-graha II.

Śryāśraya Śīlāditya, son of the Chalukya Dharāśraya Jaya-siṃha-varman, was ruling in Gujarat 669–691 as heir-apparent.

671 Āditya-sēna, of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, was reigning, in succession to his father Mādhava-gupta.

672 The E. Chālukya Maṅgi succeeded his father Vishṇu-vardhana II *c.* 672, and reigned 25 years.

680 Dēva-gupta, of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, was reigning about this time, in succession to his father Āditya-sēna.

Udayana, in the Pāṇḍava lineage, of a dynasty ruling in Kōsala and the Central Provinces, lived *c.* 680. His son was Indra-bala, his son Nanna-dēva, his (adopted ?) son Tīvara-dēva (*c.* A.D. 750; see below), etc.

The W. Chālukya Vinayāditya succeeded his father Vikramāditya I about 680. He gained successes over the Pallavas of Conjevaram, the Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Sinhalese, Haihayas, Mālavas, etc., and was suzerain over the Āḷuvas (whose king Chitra-vāha, son of Guṇa-sāgara, was his vassal), Sendrakas (whose king Pogilli was his vassal), Gaṅgas, and others.

689 Durga-gaṇa was ruling in Rajputana in the neighbourhood of Jhalrapathan.

A.D. 691 Śīlāditya IV, Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning 691-701, in succession to his father Śīlāditya III.

696 The W. Chālukya Vijayāditya succeeded his father Vinayāditya about 696.

The E. Chālukya Jaya-siṃha II succeeded his father Maṅgi about 696.

700 About 700 lived Īśvarā and her husband Chandra-gupta, son of a king of Jalandhar. She was daughter of the Yādava Bhāskara-varman Ripu-ghaṅghala of Siṅgha-pura (Siṃha-pura, in the Panjab), whose pedigree in direct succession of sonship is as follows: Sēna-varman, Ārya-varman, Datta-varman, Pradīpta-varman, Īśvara-varman, Vṛiddhi-varman, Siṅgha-varman, Jala-varman, Yajña-varman, Achala-varman Samara-ghaṅghala, and Divākara-varman Mahī-ghaṅghala and his brother Bhāskara-varman Ripu-ghaṅghala.

Prakaṭāditya, son of Bālāditya, was reigning in Benares (?) about this time.

Vishṇu-gupta, of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, was reigning about this time, in succession to his father Dēva-gupta.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda-rāja I succeeded his father Indra-rāja I about 700. He was followed by his son Kakka-rāja I, who was succeeded by his son Indra-rāja II.

Pravara-sēna II, son of Rudra-sēna II, of the Vākāṭaka dynasty in Bundelkhand and Central Provinces, was reigning about this time.

Possibly about this time lived Vīra-siṃha, the first of the dynasty of EASTERN GAṄGAS OF KALIṄGA-NAGARA (Mukhalingam in Ganjam). He was said to be descended from Kōlāhala Ananta-varman, who founded Kōlāhala-pura (Kolar). He had five sons, viz. Kāmārṇava I (who defeated Balāditya, took Kaliṅga, and reigned at Jantāvura 36 years), Dānārṇava (40 years), Guṇārṇava I, Māra-siṃha, and Vajra-hasta I. Dānārṇava's son Kāmārṇava II reigned in Nagara 50 years, his son Raṇārṇava 5 years, his sons Vajra-hasta II 15 years and Kāmārṇava III 19 years. Guṇārṇava II, son of the last, reigned 27 years. According to one inscription, Guṇārṇava II was followed by a son Jitāṅkuśa, (15 years), Kaligalāṅkuśa, his grandson by a second son (12 years), and a third son Guṇḍama I (7 years); another inscription states that Guṇārṇava was succeeded by his son Vajra-hasta III (44 years), and the latter by his sons Guṇḍama I (3 years), Kāmārṇava IV (25 or 35 years), and Vinayāditya (3 years). Then came Kāmārṇava's son Vajra-hasta Aniyaṅka-bhīma (35 years) and his sons Kāmārṇava V

A.D. 700 (½ year), Guṇḍama II (3 years), and Madhu-Kāmārṇava (19 years). Then succeeded Vajra-hasta IV, son of Kāmārṇava V (A.D. 1038; see below).

705 The Lichchhavi Māna-dēva was reigning in E. Nepal 705–732, in succession to his father Dharma-dēva.

706 The Gurjara Jaya-bhaṭa III was reigning in Gujarat 706–736, in succession to his father Dadda III.

709 Nanda-rāja Yuddhāsura, Rāshṭrakūṭa, son of Svāmika-rāja, was reigning in the neighbourhood of Multai, Central Provinces.

The E. Chālukya Kokkili, about 709, succeeded his elder brother Jaya-siṃha II, and reigned 6 months. He was followed by his elder brother Vishṇu-vardhana III, about 710.

710 Sindh was invaded in 710–711 by Arabs led by Muḥammad ibn Ḳāsim, who in 712 defeated and slew Dāhir, son of Chach. Sindh thus passed into the power of Moslem rulers. Multan was next reduced.

About this time flourished the Pallava Nandi-varman of Conjevaram, who was apparently son of Hiraṇya, a descendant of Bhīma-varman, younger brother of Siṃha-vishṇu (see above). He conquered territory of the E. Chālukya Vishṇu-vardhana III, slew a Pallava chief Chitra-māya, and defeated the Śabara Udayana and the Nishāda Pṛithivī-vyāghra. He reigned at least 50 years.

713 Vajrāditya-Chandrāpīḍa, son of Pratāpāditya II, Kārkōṭa king of Kashmir, was reigning 713–720. He was followed by his brothers Udayāditya-Tārāpīḍa and Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa (*c.* A.D. 740; see below), etc.

720 About this time lived Jaya-nandi-varman, prince of some territory to the west of the Āndhra country, with whom begins the dynasty of the BĀṆAS. He was followed by his son Vijayāditya I, his son Malla-dēva, his son Bāṇa-vidyādhara, his son Prabhu-mēru, his son Vikramāditya I, his son Vijayāditya II, his son Vikramāditya II (see below, A.D. 898). It has been suggested that Prabhu-mēru also bore the name Vijayāditya, and was the second of that name; the succession would then be, after him, Vikramāditya I (Bāṇa-vidyādhara II), Vijayāditya III, Vikramāditya II (Bāṇa-vidyādhara III), and Vijayāditya IV.

722 Śīlāditya V, Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning in succession to his father Śīlāditya IV.

724 The Lichchhavi Siva-dēva II, son of Narēndra-dēva, and descendant of Udaya-dēva, appears to have been reigning in E. Nepal about this time, as his inscriptions seem to belong to 724–748.

A.D. 730 Jīvita-gupta II, of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, was reigning about this time, in succession to his father Vishṇu-gupta.

731 Jayāśraya Maṅgal'-arasa, son of the Chalukya Dharāśraya Jaya-siṃha-varman, was ruling in Gujarat as feudatory of the W. Chālukyas.

733 About 733 the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya II succeeded his father Vijayāditya. He defeated the Pallava king Nandi-varman, entered Conjevaram, and pressed hard on the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Kērala, and other kings.

In consequence of the depression of the Pallavas, the power of the Chōḷas began to rise again.

738 Pulakēśin, son of the Chalukya Dharāśraya Jaya-siṃha-varman, was ruling in Gujarat as feudatory of the W. Chālukyas. He repulsed an Arab invasion.

Dhavala, Maurya prince of Kotah, was reigning.

740 Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, son of Pratāpāditya II, was reigning *c.* 740 in Kashmir. He is said to have dethroned Yaśō-varman of Kanauj, successor of Hari-chandra, and seems to have fought with success against the Turks, Tibetans, and Dards, but at length apparently perished in a northern expedition, after a reign of 36 years and 7 months.

He was succeeded by his sons Kuvalayāpīḍa (reigned 1 year) and Vajrāditya Bappiyaka (7 years), and the latter's sons Pṛithivyāpīḍa (4 years), Saṅgrāmāpīḍa I (7 days), and Jayāpīḍa (*c.* 779 A.D.; see below), etc.

The Lichchhavi Mahī-dēva was ruling in E. Nepal about 740, in succession to his father, Māna-dēva.

746 The CHĀPŌTKAṬA dynasty is said to have been established in Gujarat by Vana-rāja, son of Jaya-śēkhara of Pañchāsar.

The E. Chālukya Vijayāditya I succeeded his father Vishṇu-vardhana III, about 746.

The W. Chālukya Kīrti-varman II, the last of the Badami line, succeeded his father Vikramāditya II about this time.

750 About 750 lived Bappa, Guhila prince of Mewar. He is mentioned in three inscriptions which name after him Guhila, Bhōja, Śīla, Kāla-bhōja, Mallaṭa (in one inscription only), Bhartṛi-bhaṭa, Siṃha, Mahāyāka, Khummāṇa, Allaṭa (951 A.D.; see below), etc.

Tīvara-dēva, the (adopted?) son of Nanna-dēva, of the Pāṇḍava dynasty from Udayana (*c.* A.D. 680; see above), was reigning. He had a brother Chandra-gupta, whose son was Harsha-gupta, whose son was Siva-gupta (*c.* A.D. 820; see below).

Mahā-sudēva, son of Māna-mātra, son of Prasannārṇava, was reigning about 750 in Chattisgarh (Central Provinces).

A.D. 750 Prithivī-shēṇa, son of Narēndra-sēna, son of Pravara-sēna II, Vākāṭaka, reigned *c.* 750.

Danti-vikrama-varman, first recorded king of the GAṄGA-PALLAVA dynasty, seems to have succeeded about 750. The other recorded kings of this family were Nandi-vikrama-varman (at least 62 years), Nṛipa-tuṅga-vikrama-varman (at least 26 years), who was apparently contemporary with the Gaṅga-Bāṇa Diṇḍika, Aparājita-vikrama-varman (below, A.D. 878), Kampa-vikrama-varman (at least 23 years), Skanda-śishya-vikrama-varman (at least 14 years), Nara-siṃha-vikrama-varman (at least 24 years), and Īśvara-varman (at least 17 years). The dynasty gradually grew at the expense of the older Pallavas of Conjevaram.

Śiva-māra I, the first prince of the dynasty of WESTERN GAṄGAS OF TALAKAD who is mentioned in genuine inscriptions, flourished about 750. His successors, as recorded in the latter, were: his son Śrī-purusha; the latter's son Raṇa-vikrama; Rāja-malla, son of the latter; Nīti-mārga Koṅguṇi-varma-rāja Permānaḍi (perhaps the same as Raṇa-vikrama above); the latter's son Satya-vākya Pemmānaḍi (perhaps identical with Rāja-malla above); Satya-vākya Koṅguṇi-varma-rāja Permanaḍi (probably Būtuga I), who succeeded about A.D. 870 (*vide infra*), etc.

754 About 754 the Rāshṭrakūṭa Danti-varman II, who had succeeded his father Indra-rāja II, overthrew the W. Chālukya Kīrti-varman II, and became paramount in the Dekhan. He is said to have conquered Conjevaram, Kōsala, Kaliṅga, Śrī-śaila, Malwa, Lāṭa, and Ṭaṅka. He was followed by his uncle, Krishṇa-rāja I, the son of Kakka-rāja I, who is recorded to have defeated a king named Rāhappa.

The Lichchhavi Vasanta-sēna (Vasanta-dēva) was reigning in E. Nepal, in succession to his father Mahī-dēva.

757 The Rāshṭrakūṭa viceroy Kakka-rāja II of Gujarat was reigning. He was the son of Gōvinda-rāja, son of Dhruva-rāja, a younger son of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kakka-rāja I.

758 The Lichchhavi Jaya-dēva Para-chakra-kāma was apparently reigning in E. Nepal, in succession to his father Śiva-dēva II. He married a daughter of Harsha-dēva, king of Gauḍa, Oriya, Kaliṅga, and Kōsala.

760 Dēva-śakti, with whom begins the dynasty of the PRATIHĀRAS OF KANAUJ, lived about 760. He was of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family, and ruled at Bhinmal in Rajputana.

Śīlāditya VI, Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning in succession to his father Śīlāditya V.

About 760 lived Dayita-vishṇu, the earliest recorded

A.D. 760 member of the dynasty of PĀLAS OF BENGAL. He was followed by his son Bappaṭa (Vapyaṭa), his son Gōpāla I (c. A.D. 820; see below), etc.

764 The E. Chālukya Vishṇu-vardhana IV succeeded his father Vijayāditya I about 764.

765 Śrī-purusha, also called Mutt'-arasa, succeeded Śiva-māra I, of the W. Gaṅgas of Talakad, and greatly extended the power of the dynasty.

766 Śīlāditya VII, Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning in succession to his father Śīlāditya VI.

The Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī was apparently overthrown soon afterwards by a Moslem invasion from Sindh led by 'Amr ibn Jamāl.

770 The Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda-rāja II was reigning 770–779. He was the son and successor of Kṛishṇa-rāja I, and overcame the king of Vēṅgī.

Māṟañ-jaḍaiyan (Jaṭila-varman, son of Māṟa-varman), Pāṇḍya, was reigning.

779 Jayāpīḍa, son of Vajrāditya, reigned in Kashmir c. 779–808. Soon after his accession, during an expedition in India, he apparently was dispossessed of the throne by his brother-in-law Jajja, whom he at length overthrew. He apparently deposed Vajrāyudha of Kanauj.

780 Some time after 779 the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva-rāja (Dhōra, Dōra) deposed his elder brother Gōvinda-rāja II. He defeated the Pratihāra king Vatsa-rāja.

About this time the dynasty of the ŚILĀHĀRAS OF THE SOUTHERN KONKAN began with Saṇaphulla, who was apparently under the protection of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa-rā·a I. His successors were his son Dhammiyara, his son Aiyapa-rāja, his son Avasara I, his son Āditya-varman, his son Avasara II, his son Indra-rāja, his son Bhīma, his son Avasara III, and his son Raṭṭa (in A.D. 1008; see below).

783 Vatsa-rāja, Pratihāra king of Bhinmal, was reigning in succession to his father Dēva-śakti. Indrāyudha, son of Kṛishṇa, was apparently reigning in Kanauj.

793 Śaṅkara-gaṇa (Samarāvalōka), Rāshṭrakūṭa, was reigning apparently in Haidarabad. He was son of Nanna, son of Kakka-rāja I, and so was cousin of Dhruva-rāja.

794 The Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda-rāja III (Jagat-tuṅga I) was reigning 794–813, in succession to his father Dhruva-rāja. He defeated Stambha or Kambayya (a brother?) and a league of twelve princes, reduced the Gurjaras and Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat), Malwa, the (?) W. Gaṅga Mārā-śarva, Dantiga of Conjevaram (perhaps the Gaṅga-

A.D. 794 Pallava Danti-varman; see above, A.D. 750), Vēṅgī, etc. He began a war with the E. Chālukyas.

799 The E. Chālukya Vijayāditya II succeeded his father Vishṇu-vardhana IV about 799. He fought many battles with the Gaṅgas and Raṭṭas (Rāshṭrakūṭas).

800 Upēndra-rāja (Kṛishṇa-rāja), with whom begins the pedigree of the PARAMĀRAS OF MALWA, lived about 800. He was followed by his son Vairi-siṃha I, his son Sīyaka I, his son Vāk-pati-rāja I, his son Vairi-siṃha II (Vajraṭa), his son Sīyaka II (Harsha, c. A.D. 971; see below), etc.

Jejja, Rāshṭrakūṭa, was reigning in Central India c. 800. His elder brother defeated Karnāṭa armies and became king of Lāṭa.

About this time lived Kapardin I, with whom begins the dynasty of the ŚILĀHĀRAS OF THE NORTHERN KONKAN.

Indrāyudha of Kanauj about 800 was deposed by Dharma-pāla, king of Bengal and Bihar, who put in his place Chakrāyudha (Mahī-pāla ?) as his feudatory.

806 Yōga-rāja, Chāpōtkaṭa of Anhilwar, is said to have succeeded his father Vana-rāja.

About this time the Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda-rāja III wrested Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat) from the Chāpōtkaṭas, and made his brother Indra-rāja viceroy of it.

808 Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir died about 808, and was succeeded by his son Lalitāpīḍa.

812 Karka-rāja (Kakka) Suvarṇa-varsha was ruling in 812–817 as Rāshṭrakūṭa viceroy of Gujarat, in succession to his father Indra-rāja. Karka-rāja's brother Gōvinda-rāja was co-viceroy in 813–827.

815 Nāga-bhaṭa, Pratihāra king of Bhinmal, was reigning in succession to his father Vatsa-rāja. He conquered Chakrā-yudha of Kanauj, and established himself in the latter's capital. He was succeeded by his son Rāma-bhadra and grandson Bhōja-dēva I (843 A.D.; see below), etc.

Gūvaka I, of the dynasty of CHĀHAMĀNAS (Chauhāns) OF ŚĀKAMBHARĪ (Sambhar) in Rajputana was reigning about this time, apparently as a feudatory of the Pratihāra Nāga-bhaṭa. His predecessors, according to one inscription, were Sāmanta, Jaya-rāja, Vigraha, Chandra, Gōpēndraka, and Durlabha. He was followed by his son Chandra-rāja, his son Gūvaka II, his son Chandana (who defeated a Tōmara prince Rudrēna), his son Bappaya or Vāk-pati-rāja (who defeated Tantra-pāla), Vindhya-rāja (in one inscription), Bappaya's son Siṃha-rāja, his son Vigraha-rāja (A.D. 973; see below), etc.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōgha-varsha I about 815 succeeded

A.D. 815 his father Gōvinda-rāja III. He founded Mānya-khēṭa (the modern Malkhed), which became the capital of his dynasty. He was established on the throne by his uncle Karka-rāja, after the suppression of a rebellion among the Rāshṭrakūṭas. He defeated the E. Chālukyas at Viṅgavallī, and was suzerain over Bengal, Aṅga, Magadha, Malwa, and Vēṅgī. His reign lasted until at least 877.

820 Saṅgrāmāpīḍa II (Pṛithivyāpīḍa) of Kashmir succeeded his half-brother Lalitāpīḍa about 820.

The Chāpa prince Vikramārka was ruling at Vardhamāna (Vadhvan in E. Kathiawar) about 820. His son was Aḍḍaka, his son Pulakēśin, his sons Dhruva-bhaṭa and Dharaṇī-varāha (A.D. 914; see below).

Śiva-gupta Bālārjuna, son of Harsha-gupta, of the Pāṇḍava dynasty from Udayana (*c.* 680; see above), was reigning.

Karka-rāja, Rāshṭrakūṭa, was reigning in Central India *c.* 820, in succession to his father Jejja. He defeated Nāgāvalōka (apparently Nāga-bhaṭa of Bhinmal).

Gōpāla I, with whom the PĀLA DYNASTY OF BENGAL first rises into prominence, lived about 820. Apparently he obtained Magadha (Bihar), but was defeated by Vatsa-rāja, the Gurjara king of Rajputana.

826 Chippaṭa Jayāpīḍa (Bṛihaspati), son of Lalitāpīḍa, succeeded his uncle Saṅgrāmāpīḍa II as king of Kashmir about 826.

829 Harjara, son of Prālambha, and apparently the founder of a new dynasty in Prāg-jyōtisha (Assam), was reigning. His successors were his son Vana-māla, his son Jaya-māla, his son Vīra-bāhu, his son Bala-varman. Previously there had reigned a dynasty claiming descent from Bhaga-datta, of which Brahma-pāla, his son Ratna-pāla, and the latter's grandson Indra-pāla are recorded in inscriptions.

830 Nannuka, the first of the dynasty of CHANDELLAS OF JĒJĀ-BHUKTI (Bundelkhand), lived about this time. He is said to have overthrown the Pratihāras of Mahoba, and conquered southern Jējā-bhukti. He was followed by his son Vāk-pati, his sons Jaya-śakti (Jējā, or Jejjāka) and Vijaya-śakti (Vījā, or Vijjāka), the latter's son Rāhila, his son Harsha (*c.* A.D. 914; see below), etc. The dynasty extended its power northwards to the Jamna.

About 830 flourished the Gaṅga Śiva-māra II (a son of Śrī-purusha; see above, A.D. 765). To him is traced the pedigree of the GAṄGA-BĀṆA family, in which the next was Diṇḍika (*c.* 860; see below).

835 Dhruva-rāja I, younger brother of Karka-rāja and Gōvinda-rāja, was ruling as Rāshṭrakūṭa viceroy in Gujarat, in

A.D. 835 succession to the latter. He was succeeded by his son Akāla-varsha Śubha-tuṅga.

838 Chippaṭa Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir about 838 was murdered by his maternal uncles, who put on the throne Ajitāpīḍa, grandson of Vajrāditya Bappiyaka.

840 Dharma-pāla, Pāla king of Bengal, reigned about this time, in succession to his father Gōpāla I. He defeated Indrarāja (Indrāyudha) of Kanauj and other kings, and made Chakrāyudha king of Kanauj. He reigned at least 32 years, and ruled from the Bay of Bengal to Delhi and Jalandhar on the north, and the valleys of the Vindhya on the south.

841 Kshēma-rāja, Chāpōtkaṭa of Anhilwar, succeeded Yōga-rāja.

842 The Chāhamāna Chaṇḍa-Mahā-sēna was reigning in the neighbourhood of Dholpur. He was son of Mahisha-rāma, son of Īsuka.

843 Bhōja-dēva I (Ādi-varāha, Mihira, or Prabhāsa), Pratihāra king of Kanauj, was reigning 843–881, in succession to his father Rāma-bhadra. His empire included the territories of the Panjab E. of the Satlaj, most of the United Provinces and Rajputana, Gwalior, and possibly Malwa and Kathiawar, probably extending to the Satlaj, the river Hakra in Sindh, Bundelkhand, and the Pāla kingdom of Bengal-Bihar.

The E. Chālukya Vishṇu-vardhana V succeeded his father Vijayāditya II about 843.

Pula-śakti, Śilāhāra of the Northern Konkan, was reigning about 843, in succession to his father Kapardin I, as feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōgha-varsha I.

844 The E. Chālukya Vijayāditya III succeeded his father Vishṇu-vardhana V about 844. He is said to have defeated the Gaṅgas, burnt Chakra-kūṭa, slain Maṅgi of Noḷamba-vāḍi (probably a Pallava), overcome Saṅkila of Ḍāhala (probably Śaṅkara-gaṇa or Śaṅkuka of Chēdi, son of Kokkalla I), and his ally Kṛishṇa (the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa-rāja II ?), and burnt their city Kiraṇa-pura.

850 Anaṅgāpīḍa, son of Saṅgrāmāpīḍa II, was made king of Kashmir, in place of Ajitāpīḍa, about 850.

About 850 reigned the Chōḷa Vijayālaya Para-kēsari-varman. He ruled for at least 34 years, and was succeeded by Āditya I Rāja-kēsari-varman, his son, who reigned at least 27 years.

851 Kapardin II, Śilāhāra of the Northern Konkan, was reigning 851–877, in succession to his father Pula-śakti. He was succeeded by his son Vappuvanna, his sons Jhañjha and Goggi, Goggi's son Vajjaḍa I (perhaps the same as Vajjaḷa-dēva, defeated by the W. Gaṅga Māra-siṃha II), his son Aparājita (A.D. 997 ; see below), etc.

A.D. 853 Sukha-varman raised to the throne of Kashmir Utpalāpīḍa, son of Ajitāpīḍa, in place of Anaṅgāpīḍa.

Lalita-śūra, son of Ishṭa-gaṇa, son of Nimbara, was apparently reigning in Kumaon.

855 Avanti-varman, son of Sukha-varman, was made king of Kashmir, in place of Utpalāpīḍa.

860 The Gaṅga-Bāṇa Diṇḍika was reigning about this time, in succession to his father Śiva-māra II. He saved two princes, Jēriga and Nāga-danta, one of whom was attacked by the Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōgha-varsha I; and he defeated Vara-guṇa Pāṇḍya (below, A.D. 878). He was followed by his son Māra-siṃha I.

861 Para-bala, Rāshṭrakūṭa, son of Karka-rāja, was reigning in Central India. His daughter Raṇṇā-dēvī married Dharmapāla of Bengal.

The Pratihāra Kakkuka was ruling in the neighbourhood of Ghatayal. He was descended from a Brahman Harichandra, whose descendants in the direct line were Rajjila, Nara-bhaṭa, Nāga-bhaṭa, Tāta, Yaśō-vardhana, Chanduka, Śīluka, Jhōṭa, Bhilluka, Kakka, and Kakkuka. Bāuka, son of Kakkuka, killed a certain Mayūra, who had defeated Nandāvalla.

862 Vishṇu-rāma was governing Deogarh as vassal of Bhōja-dēva of Kanauj.

Vara-guṇa Pāṇḍya succeeded, 862–3.

866 Bhūyaḍa, Chāpōtkaṭa of Anhilwar, is said to have succeeded Kshēma-rāja, and to have conquered Dvāravatī and the western districts.

867 The Rāshṭrakūṭa viceroy Dhruva-rāja II was reigning in Gujarat, in succession to his father Akāla-varsha. He defeated Mihira (*i.e.* the Pratihāra king Bhōja-dēva). His brother Danti-varman Aparimita-varsha was ruling in the same year.

870 The W. Gaṅga Satya-vākya Koṅguṇi-varma-rāja of Talakad succeeded. He is probably the same as Būtuga I, and was still reigning in 887.

Jayāditya II was reigning in Vijaya-pura (possibly near Gorakhpur). He was the son of Dharmāditya, son of Jayāditya I, of the Malaya-kētu family.

872 Vara-guṇa Pāṇḍya about 872 invaded Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country, and destroyed the fortress of Vēmbil.

878 Vara-guṇa Pāṇḍya, having invaded the territories of the Gaṅga-Pallava Aparājita-vikrama-varman (successor of Nṛipatuṅga? see above, A.D. 750) about 877–878, was defeated by the latter (who perished in the battle) and his ally the Gaṅga-Bāṇa Diṇḍika at Tiru-piṟambiyam (Śrī-puṟambiya).

A.D. 878 Later, Aparājita-vikrama-varman was defeated by the Chōḷa Āditya I, who annexed his territories.

880 Kokkalla I, the first of the dynasty of KAḶACHURIS (HAIHAYAS) OF TRIPURĪ (near Jabalpur, in Western Chēdi or Ḍahāla), lived about 880. He was followed by his son Mugdha-tuṅga Prasiddha-dhavala, his sons Bāla-harsha and Yuva-rāja I (Kēyūra-varsha), Yuva-rāja's son Lakshmaṇa-rāja, his sons Śaṅkara-gaṇa and Yuva-rāja II (c. A.D. 974; see below), etc. The dynasty bore the title "Lord of Trikaliṅga" as early as 1042.

About this time lived Dṛiḍha-prahāra, from whom begins the dynasty of the YĀDAVAS OF SĒUṆA-DĒŚA. He is said to have come from Dvāravatī and founded Chandrāditya-pura. He was followed by his son Sēuṇa-chandra I (who founded Sēuṇa-pura); his son Dhāḍiyappa; his son Bhillama I; his son Rāja (Śrī-rāja); his son Vaddiga, a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa-rāja III (see below), etc.

Malla I, with whom begins the pedigree of the Telugu princes of VELA-NĀḌU, apparently lived about this time. His dynasty included, after him, his son Eṟiya-varman; his son Kuḍiya-varman I; his son Malla II (Piḍuvaṟāditya); his son Kuḍiya-varman II (c. A.D. 1011; see below); his son Eṟṟaya; his son Nanni-rāja; his sons Vedura I, Gaṇḍa, Goṅka I (c. A.D. 1070; see below), Mallaya, and Paṇḍa; Gaṇḍa's son Vedura II (c. A.D. 1078; see below); Goṅka's son Chōḍa (see below, A.D. 1070); his son Goṅka II; his son Vīra-Rājēndra Chōḍa (Kulōttuṅga Rājēndra-Chōḍaya-rāja); his son Goṅka III (Kulōttuṅga Manma-Goṅka-rāja); his son Pṛithvīśvara (A.D. 1186; see below).

Dēva-pāla, Pāla king of Bengal, was reigning about this time, in succession to his father or uncle Dharma-pāla. He reigned at least 33 years. He is said to have conquered Orissa.

883 Śaṅkara-varman succeeded his father Avanti-varman as king of Kashmir.

888 The Rāshṭrakūṭa viceroy Kṛishṇa-rāja Akāla-varsha was reigning in Gujarat. He was apparently the son of Danti-varman.

The E. Chālukya Chālukya-bhīma I, son of Vijayāditya III's younger brother Vikramāditya I, succeeded Vijayāditya about 888. He defeated the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa-rāja II, and recovered Vēṅgī from the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

893 Mahēndra-pāla, Pratihāra king of Kanauj, was reigning 893–907, in succession to his father Bhōja-dēva I. His successors are given in some inscriptions as his sons Bhōja-dēva II and Vināyaka-pāla Harsha (A.D. 931), in others as

A.D. 893 Mahī-pāla (A.D. 914–917), Dēva-pāla (A.D. 948), Vijaya-pāla (A.D. 960), Rājya-pāla (died 1019), Trilōchana-pāla (A.D. 1027), and (?) Yaśaḥ-pāla (A.D. 1036); see below.

Bala-varman, Chalukya Mahā-sāmanta, was ruling in Nakshisa-pura, Kathiawar, as feudatory of Mahēndra-pāla of Kanauj. He was son of Avani-varman I, son of Vāhuka-dhavala (?); the latter defeated a king Dharma, and was grandson of Kalla. Bala-varman overcame Vishaḍha and a Hūṇa Jajjapa, etc.

895 Vīra-siṃha, Chāpōtkaṭa of Anhilwar, is said to have succeeded Bhūyaḍa.

Noḻambādhirāja, Pallava, father of Mahēndrādhirāja, was reigning in a part of Mysore.

897 Kṛishṇa-rāja II, Rāshṭrakūṭa, was reigning 897–911, in succession to his father Amōgha-varsha I. He is said to have conquered Khēṭaka, the Āndhras and Gaṅgas, Kaliṅga, and Magadha, and to have waged war upon the Gurjaras, Lāṭas, and Gauḍas. Among his vassals were the Bāṇa Vikramāditya and the Chella-kētana Lōkāditya of Bankapur. His son Jagat-tuṅga II died before him.

898 The Bāṇa Vijayāditya, son of Bāṇa-vidyādhara, was reigning (see above, A.D. 720).

899 Avani-varman II (Yōga), Chalukya Mahā-sāmanta, son of Bala-varman, was ruling in Nakshisa-pura, Kathiawar. He defeated Yaksha-dāsa and Dharaṇī-varāha (probably the Chāpa of Vardhamāna).

900 The Rāshṭrakūṭa Hari-varman of Hasti-kuṇḍī was ruling about 900. He was succeeded by his son Vidagdha (A.D. 916; see below), etc.

About 900 lived Nimbārka, the first of a line of Chālukya viceroys of Lāṭa (Gujarat). He was followed by his son Bārappa, his son Goggi-rāja, his son Kīrti-rāja (A.D. 1018; see below), etc.

About this time Jaya-vardhana II, of the Śaila-vaṃśa, was reigning in Śrī-vardhana-pura, Central Provinces. His pedigree was: Śrī-vardhana I; his son Pṛithu-vardhana; his descendant Sauvardhana, of whose sons one killed a king of Pauṇḍra (Bengal-Bihar) and another a king of Benares; a son of the latter son of Sauvardhana; his son Jaya-vardhana I; his son Śrī-vardhana II, father of Jaya-vardhana II.

902 Gōpāla-varman became king of Kashmir, in succession to his father Śaṅkara-varman, who had been killed on an expedition.

903 Unda-bhaṭa of Sironi (903–907), feudatory of Mahēndra-pāla of Kanauj, fought a battle with Guṇa-rāja by the river Madhu-vēṇī.

A.D. 904 Gōpāla-varman of Kashmir was killed by the minister Prabhākara-dēva. He was succeeded first by Saṅkaṭa, a supposititious son of Śaṅkara-varman, who died after ten days, and then by Śaṅkara-varman's widow Sugandhā.

906 Pārtha, son of Nirjita-varman, a descendant of Avanti-varman's half-brother Śūra-varman, was made king of Kashmir.

907 The Chōḷa Parāntaka I succeeded his father Āditya I. He defeated the Pāṇḍya Rāja-siṃha, two Bāṇa princes, etc., and became master of Madura and Ceylon, reigning at least 40 years.

Among the vassals of Parāntaka I was the Gaṅga-Bāṇa Pṛithivī-pati, son and successor of Māra-siṃha I, described as prince of Paṟivi-purī and Nandi.

912 Dhūr-bhaṭa was ruling at Sironi as feudatory of Dēva-pāla of Kanauj.

914 Mahī-pāla, Pratihāra king of Kanauj, was reigning 914–917; see above, A.D. 893.

Harsha, Chandella king of Jējā-bhukti, was reigning about 914, in succession to his father Rāhila.

Dharaṇī-varāha, of the Chāpa dynasty from Vikramārka (*c.* A.D. 820; see above), was ruling at Vardhamāna (Vadhvan) as feudatory of Mahī-pāla of Kanauj.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra-rāja III, son of Jagat-tuṅga II, was reigning 914–916, in succession to Kṛishṇa-rāja II. He seems to have defeated a king Upēndra.

916 The Rāshṭrakūṭa Vidagdha of Hasti-kuṇḍī was reigning, in succession to his father Hari-varman.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra-rāja III about 916 successfully attacked Kanauj, and apparently dethroned Mahī-pāla. His son Amōgha-varsha II succeeded him, and reigned for one year, according to one record.

918 The Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda-rāja IV (Gojjiga), younger son of Indra-rāja III, was reigning 918–933, as successor to his father or his elder brother Amōgha-varsha II.

The E. Chālukya Vijayāditya IV succeeded his father Chālukya-bhīma I about 918, and reigned six months. He was followed by his son Amma-rāja I.

920 Ratnāditya, Chāpōtkaṭa of Anhilwar, is said to have succeeded Vīra-siṃha.

About this time lived Jatiga I, with whom begins the pedigree of the dynasty of the ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KARAD. He was followed by his son Nāyi-varman (Nāyimma); his son Chandra-rāja; his son Jatiga II; his sons Goṅka (Goṅkala, Gōkalla), Gūvala I, Kīrti-rāja, and Chandrāditya; Goṅka's son Māra-siṃha (A.D. 1058; see below), etc.

A.D. 921 Pārtha of Kashmir was deposed, and his father Nirjita-varman put in his place.

923 Chakra-varman, son of Nirjita-varman, succeeded the latter as king of Kashmir.

925 The E. Chālukya Vijayāditya V succeeded his father Amma-rāja I about 925, and reigned half a month. He was driven from the throne (in the same or the next year) by Tāha (Tāḻapa), son of Yuddha-malla I, paternal uncle of Chālukya-bhīma I. After reigning one month Tāha was slain by Chālukya-bhīma's son Vikramāditya II, who reigned 9, 11, or 12 months.

926 The E. Chālukya Bhīma, son of Amma-rāja I, expelled Vikramāditya II, and reigned 8 months. He was then slain by Tāha's son Yuddha-malla II, who assumed the throne (in 927 ?).

931 Vināyaka-pāla Harsha, Pratihāra king of Kanauj, was reigning ; see above, A.D. 893.

933 Śūra-varman I of Kashmir through a military revolt ousted his half-brother Chakra-varman.

934 Śūra-varman I of Kashmir was ousted by Pārtha.

The E. Chālukya Chālukya-bhīma II (Rāja-bhīma), son of Vijayāditya IV, succeeded to the throne about 934, having expelled Yuddha-malla II and Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya (*i.e.* Kaṇṭhikā Bēta or Vijayāditya V, son of Amma I), and slain Rāja-mārtaṇḍa. He defeated the Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda-rāja IV, etc.

About 934–938 the W. Gaṅga Eṟeyappa of Talakad fought against Ayyapa-dēva in his war against Vīra-mahēndra (both the latter may have belonged to the Noḻamba family of Pallavas), and granted a fief to the son of the leader of his troops, a Nāgattara, who fell in the battle.

935 Chakra-varman was restored to the kingship of Kashmir, but was in the same year ousted by Śambhu-vardhana, whom in 936 he defeated and killed.

Sāmanta-siṃha, Chāpōtkaṭa of Anhilwar, is said to have succeeded Ratnāditya.

937 Chakra-varman of Kashmir was murdered, and was succeeded by Unmattāvanti, son of Pārtha.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōgha-varsha III (Baddiga), younger brother of Indra-rāja III, was reigning 937–939, in succession to Gōvinda-rāja IV.

939 On the death of Unmattāvanti, Śūra-varman II, a supposititious son, reigned a few days. Yaśaskara, son of Prabhākara-dēva, was then made king.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa Mammaṭa of Hasti-kuṇḍī was reigning, in succession to his father Vidagdha.

A.D. 940 The Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa-rāja III was reigning 940–961, in succession to his father Amōgha-varsha III. He slew Dantiga and Vappuga, put Būtuga II on the throne of the W. Gaṅga Rācha-malla I (son of Ereyappa), defeated the Pallava Noḷamba Aṇṇiga and the Kaḷachuri Chēdi king Sahasrārjuna, and took Conjevaram and Tanjore, but was worsted at Takkōlam by Rājāditya Chōḷa. His younger brother Jagat-tuṅga III, who is mentioned with him in 940, did not reign independently.

Among the feudatories of Kṛishṇa-rāja III was Vaddiga, Yādava prince of Sēuṇa-dēśa and son of Rāja.

The Raṭṭa Pṛithvī-rāma, son of Meraḍa, was ruling as feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānya-khēṭa at Sanndatti, in the Kūṇḍi Three-Thousand (in Belgaum and Kaladgi Districts). He founded apparently the first dynasty of RAṬṬAS OF SAUNDATTI (see below, A.D. 950), being succeeded by his son Piṭṭuga and his son Śānti-varman (A.D. 980; see below).

945 The E. Chālukya Amma-rāja II succeeded his father Chālukya-bhīma II.

948 Saṅgrāma-dēva succeeded his father Yaśaskara of Kashmir.

Dēva-pāla, Pratihāra king of Kanauj, was reigning; see above, A.D. 893. His feudatory Nishkalaṅka was governing Sironi also in 948.

Yaśō-varman (Laksha-varman), Chandella of Jējā-bhukti, was reigning about this time, in succession to his father Harsha. He is said to have waged successful wars against Gauḍa, the Khaśas, Kōsala, Kashmir, Mithilā, Malwa, the Kurus, and the Gurjaras, and to have defeated the Kaḷa-churi king of Chēdi, and captured Kālañjara.

The Chōḷa Rājāditya Rāja-kēsari-varman succeeded his father Parāntaka I *c.* 948.

949 Saṅgrāma-dēva of Kashmir was murdered, and was succeeded by Parva-gupta.

The Chōḷa Rājāditya about 949 fought against the Rāshṭra-kūṭa Kṛishṇa-rāja III at Takkōlam, but perished in the battle: he was killed in hand-to-hand fight, in the howdah of his elephant, by the W. Gaṅga prince Būtuga II, brother-in-law of Kṛishṇa-rāja III and ruler of Mysore under him. He was followed by his brothers Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariṃjaya; the latter's son Parāntaka II; his son Āditya II (who defeated Vīra Pāṇḍya); Gaṇḍarāditya's son Madhurāntaka (who reigned at least 5 years); Parāntaka II's son Rāja-rāja I (succeeded 985; see below), etc.

950 Kshēma-gupta succeeded his father Parva-gupta of Kash-mir.

A.D. 950 About 950 lived Rāji, son of Bhuvanāditya and father of Mūla-rāja I, with whom begins the pedigree of the CHAULUKYAS (Solaṅkīs) OF ANHILWAR (Aṇahilla-pāṭaka). According to the chronicles of Gujarat, Bhū-rāja of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka in Kanauj conquered Gujarat about the end of the seventh century, and was succeeded by Karṇāditya, Chandrāditya, Sōmāditya, and Bhuvanāditya.

Lakshmaṇa, the first of the CHĀHAMĀNAS OF NADOL, and son of Vāk-pati-rāja of Śākambharī, lived about 950. His family comprised his son Śōbhita or Sōhiya, who defeated the (Paramāra ?) princes of Arbuda or Mt. Abu ; his son Bali-rāja, who defeated Muñja-rāja (the Paramāra Vāk-pati-rāja II of Malwa) ; his paternal uncle Vigraha-pāla ; his son Mahēndra or Mahīndu ; his son Aśva-pāla ; his son Ahila, who defeated the Chaulukya Bhīma-dēva I of Anhilwar ; Aṇahilla, another son of Mahēndra, who also defeated Bhīma-dēva, captured Śākambharī, and overcame Sāḍha (a general of the Paramāra Bhōja-dēva of Malwa) and a Turushka ; his son Bāla-prasāda, who forced Bhīma-dēva to release Kṛishṇa-dēva (probably the Paramāra Kṛishṇa-rāja of Bhinmal, son of Dhandhuka) ; his brother Jendra-rāja or Jindu-rāja, who gained a victory at Sanderao ; his son Pṛithivī-pala, who defeated the Chaulukya Karṇa of Anhilwar; his brother Jōjalla or Yōjaka (A.D. 1091 ; see below) ; his brother Āśā-rāja, who for a time supported the Chaulukya Jaya-siṃha Siddha-rāja, but seems later to have quarrelled with him ; his son Ālhaṇa (A.D. 1153 ; see below).

Lakshmaṇa, with whom begins the pedigree of the Gwalior branch of the KACHCHHAPA-GHĀTAS (Kachchhapāris), lived about this time.

About this time flourished Nanna, first of the later dynasty of the RAṬṬAS OF SAUNDATTI AND BELGAUM, feudatories of the W. Chālukyas of Kalyani ; see above, A.D. 940.

951 Allaṭa, son of the queen Mahā-lakshmī, Guhila king of Mewar, was reigning 951–953.

953 About this time Būtuga II, W. Gaṅga prince of Mysore, was succeeded by his son Maruḷa-dēva or the latter's son Rachcha.

954 Dhaṅga, Chandella of Jējā-bhukti, was reigning 954–998, in succession to his father Yaśō-varman. He died in or before 1002, and was succeeded by his son Gaṇḍa, his son Vidyādhara, his son Vijaya-pāla (*c.* A.D. 1037 ; see below), etc. Under Dhaṅga the Chandella kingdom extended from the Jamna to the border of Chēdi and from Kālañjara to Gwalior.

958 Kshēma-gupta of Kashmir died, and was succeeded by his

A.D. 958 son Abhimanyu II, under the regency of the latter's mother Diddā.

960 Vijaya-pāla, Pratihāra king of Kanauj, was reigning; see above, A.D. 893. His feudatory Nishkalaṅka was governing Sironi in 968.

Mathana-dēva, son of Sāvaṭa, Gurjara-Pratihāra king of Alwar, was reigning as feudatory of Vijaya-pāla of Kanauj.

963 The W. Gaṅga prince Māra-siṃha II of Talakad, son of Būtuga II, was reigning 963–974, in succession to Rachcha. He was a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānya-khēṭa; he subdued the lands of the north for Kṛishṇa-rāja III, whose opponent Alla he defeated, and he crowned Indra-rāja IV. He also defeated Vajjaḷa-dēva, the younger brother of Pātāla-malla (perhaps the Śilāhāra Vajjaḍa I of the Northern Konkan), the Śabara Naraga, the Chālukya Ṛājāditya, etc.

970 The E. Chālukya Dānārṇava succeeded his brother Amma-raja II, and reigned 3 years, after which came an interregnum of 27 years.

971 Sīyaka II (Harsha), Paramāra king of Malwa, was reigning about 971, in succession to his father Vairi-siṃha II. He defeated the Rāshṭrakūṭa Khoṭṭiga, etc.

Nara-vāhana, Guhila king of Mewar, was reigning in succession to his father Allaṭa.

Chāmuṇḍa-rāja was reigning in the neighbourhood of Nimtor (Rajputana).

The Rāshṭrakūṭa Khoṭṭiga was reigning in 971, in succession to his elder brother Kṛishṇa-rāja III.

972 Nandi-gupta succeeded his father Abhimanyu II of Kashmir. He died in 973, apparently murdered by his grandmother Diddā, who put into his place Tribhuvana-gupta, another of her grandsons.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa Kakka-rāja II (Kakkala-dēva), son of Nirupama, a younger brother of Kṛishṇa-rāja III, was reigning 972–973, in succession to Khoṭṭiga. He was suzerain of the W. Gaṅgas Permānaḍi Māra-siṃha II and Pañchala-dēva, and was defeated by the W. Chālukya Taila II. He is said to have defeated Gurjaras, Hūṇas, Chōḷas, and Pāṇḍyas.

973 Vigraha-rāja, Chāhamāna king of Śākambharī, was reigning in succession to his father Siṃha-rāja. One inscription names as his successors Durlabha, Gundu, Vāk-pati, his brother Vīrya-rāma, Chāmuṇḍa, Siṅghaṭa, Dūsala, his brother Vīsala, his son Pṛithvī-rāja I, his son Jaya-dēva, his son Arṇō-rāja (*c.* 1140 A.D.; see below), etc.

Taila II (Tailapa), son of Vikramāditya IV, founded the

A.D. 973 dynasty of the WESTERN CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYANI. He conquered the Rāshṭrakūṭas Kakka-rāja II and Raṇa-stamba (Raṇa-kambha), imprisoned and killed the Paramāra Muñja (Vāk-pati-rāja II), slew the W. Gaṅga Pañchala-dēva, attacked the Chōḷas, humbled the king of Chēdi, reduced the Kuntala country, and became master of all the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominions except Gujarat. He was suzerain of the Raṭṭas, Sindas, and Kādambas, the Pāṇḍyas of the Konkan, Noḷamba-vāḍi, etc.

974 Mūla-rāja I, Chaulukya king of Anhilwar (said to have come to the throne in 941), was reigning 974–995, in succession to his father Rāji. He defeated some Chāpōtkaṭa princes, and had to retire before the Chāhamāna Vigraha-rāja and Bārapa the Chalukya prince of Central Gujarat. In the end he seems to have destroyed Bārapa.

Yuva-rāja II, Kaḷachuri of Tripurī, was reigning about 974, in succession to his brother Śaṅkara-gaṇa (see above, 880 A.D.). He was followed by his son Kokkalla II, his son Gāṅgēya Vikramāditya (A.D. 1037? see below), etc.

Vāk-pati-rāja II (called Amōgha-varsha, Muñja, and Utpala), Paramāra king of Malwa, was reigning 974–979, in succession to his father Sīyaka II. He defeated the Kaḷachuri Yuva-rāja II, the Karnāṭas, Lāṭas, Kēralas, and Chōḷas, and is said to have gained six victories over the W. Chālukya Taila II. He was defeated by Bali-rāja of Nadol, and later by Taila.

The W. Gaṅga prince Māra-siṃha II abdicated and died. He was succeeded by Pañchala-dēva, who soon afterwards was killed by the W. Chālukya Taila II.

975 Tribhuvana-gupta of Kashmir was murdered by Diddā, who put into his place Bhīma-gupta, another of her grandsons.

977 Pīrī, governor of Ghazni, was deposed, and was succeeded by Sabuk-tigīn, nominally as viceroy of the Sāmānī Sultans. Sabuk-tigīn turned against the Hindus of the Kabul valley, and defeated them.

Vajra-dāman the Kachchhapa-ghāta, son of Lakshmaṇa, was reigning. He defeated the king of Kanauj, and conquered Gwalior. His successors were Maṅgala-rāja, Kīrti-rāja, Mūla-dēva, his son Dēva-pāla, his son Padma-pāla, his cousin (?) Mahī-pāla (A.D. 1093; see below), etc., feudatories of the Chandellas.

Śakti-kumāra, Guhila king of Mewar, was reigning in succession to his father Nara-vāhana. He was followed by Āmra-prasāda (in one inscription only), Śuchi-varman, Naravarman (omitted in one inscription), Kīrti-varman,

A.D. 977 Yōga-rāja (in one inscription only), Vairaṭa (omitted in one inscription), Haṃsa-pāla or Vaṃśa-pāla (omitted in one inscription), Vairi-siṃha, Vijaya-siṃha, Ari-siṃha, Chōḍa-siṃha, Vikrama-siṃha, Raṇa-siṃha (in one inscription), Kshēma-siṃha, Sāmanta-siṃha, Kumāra-siṃha, Mathana-siṃha, etc.

The W. Gaṅga Rācha-malla II of Talakad was reigning, in succession to Pañchala-dēva.

979 Sabuk-tigīn of Ghazni invaded the lower Kabul valley as far as Lamghan, and defeated Jaya-pāla, Śāhi Raja of Bhatinda, who ruled in the Upper Indus valley and most of the Panjab north of Sindh.

980 Bhīma-gupta of Kashmir was murdered in 980–981 by Diddā, who seized the throne and reigned with her paramour Tuṅga as prime minister. Rajauri became tributary to Kashmir.

Kārtavīrya (Katta) I, Raṭṭa prince of Lattalūr, was ruling over Kūṇḍi, in succession to his father Nanna, as feudatory of the W. Chālukyas of Kalyani. He was followed by his sons Ḍāyima (Dāvari) and Kanna I.

About 980 lived Yuva-rāja, with whom begins the pedigree of the Kachchhapa-ghātas whose inscriptions have been found at Dubkund (near Gwalior) and Byana (in Bhartpur).

Śānti-varman, Raṭṭa of Saundatti, was ruling as feudatory of the W. Chālukya Taila II (see above ; A.D. 940).

About this time flourished Gūhalla Vyāghra-mārin, to whom the dynasty of Kādambas of Goa traced their pedigree.

982 The Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra-rāja IV, grandson of Kṛishṇa-rāja III and successor of Kakka-rāja II, died.

985 The Chōḷa Rāja-rāja I, son of Parāntaka II, succeeded his uncle Madhurāntaka. He defeated the W. Chālukya Satyāśraya Iṟiva-beḍaṅga and the E. Chalukya Vimalāditya ; conquered the territories of Gaṅga-pāḍi, Nuḷamba-pāḍi, Taḍigai-pāḍi, Vēṅgī, and Kurg (12th–14th years), Malabar and Kaliṅga (14th–16th years), Ceylon (16th–20th years), the W. Chālukyan empire (21st–25th years), etc.

986 Sabuk-tigīn made his first attack on India in 986–987, raiding the border.

988 Jaya-pāla, Śāhi of Bhatinda, attacked the territory of Sabuk-tigīn, but was defeated and compelled to surrender four fortresses.

995 The W. Chālukya Taila II about 995 defeated and put to death the Paramāra king Vāk-pati-rāja II of Malwa. The latter was succeeded by his younger brother Sindhu-rāja,

A.D. 995 who is said to have conquered a Hūṇa king, a prince of Kōsala, and Vāgaḍa, Lāṭa, and the Muralas.

996 Chāmuṇḍa-rāja, Chaulukya king of Anhilwar, succeeded his father Mūla-rāja. He is said to have fought with success against Sindhu-rāja of Malwa. He was followed by his sons Vallabha-rāja and Durlabha-rāja, Bhīma-dēva I (A.D. 1022; see below), etc.

997 The W. Chālukya Satyāśraya (Sattiga) Iṟiva-beḍaṅga of Kalyani succeeded his father Taila II, and reigned until at least 1008. See above, A.D. 973.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hasti-kuṇḍī was reigning, in succession to his father Mammaṭa. His son Bāla-prasāda was apparently ruling at the same time.

Aparājita, Śilāhāra of the Northern Konkan, was reigning in succession to his father Vajjaḍa I. He was succeeded by his sons Vajjaḍa II and Ari-kēsarin (A.D. 1017; see below).

1000 Bhillama II, Yādava of Sēuṇa-dēśa, was ruling in succession to his father Vaddiga at Sindī-nagara and Nasik. He defeated the Paramāra Muñja (Vāk-pati-rāja II) for the W. Chālukya Taila II. He was followed by his son Vēsū.

The Sinda Pulikāla, son of Kammara, was ruling in Kaladgi as feudatory of the W. Chālukyas; see below, A.D. 1033.

The E. Chalukya Śakti-varman, son of Dānārṇava, succeeded about 1000, after an interregnum of 27 years.

Vigraha-pāla I, Pāla king of Bengal, son of Jaya-pāla and great-grandson of Gōpāla I, was reigning about 1000, in succession to Dēva-pāla. He was followed by his son Nārāyaṇa-pāla (reigned at least 17 years), his son Rājya-pāla, his son Gōpāla II, his son Vigraha-pāla II, his son Mahīpāla I (A.D. 1026; see below), etc.

Gōpāla II was son of Rājya-pāla by Bhāgya-dēvī, daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Tuṅga Dharmāvalōka, son of Kīrti-rāja, son of Nanna Guṇāvalōka.

To the eleventh century apparently belongs the GUPTA DYNASTY OF ORISSA, bearing the title of "Lords of Trikaliṅga," of which the recorded members are Śiva-gupta I, his son Bhava-gupta I, Janamējaya (who bore the further title of "Lord of Kōsala"), his son Śiva-gupta II, and his son Bhava-gupta II Bhīma-ratha.

1001 Maḥmūd of Ghazni made his first expedition into India. He defeated and captured the Śāhi Jaya-pāla near Peshawar. Jaya-pāla was released, but soon after burned himself to death, and was succeeded by his son Ānanda-pāla.

1003 Saṅgrāma-rāja, son of Udaya-rāja of Lohara, succeeded his

A.D. 1003 aunt Diddā on the throne of Kashmir. With him begins the first LOHARA DYNASTY OF KASHMIR.

1005 Maḥmūd of Ghazni made an expedition against Bhātia (Bhera ?).

1006 Maḥmūd of Ghazni made an expedition against Multan, in which his army, passing through the territory of the Śāhi Ānanda-pāla, was attacked by him.

1007 Maḥmūd of Ghazni attacked and crushed Sukha-pāla or Nuwasah Shāh, now ruling at Bhatinda. Sukha-pāla apparently was a Śāhi who had rebelled against Ānanda-pāla, and as a reward had been established in power at Bhatinda by Maḥmūd, against whom he now rebelled.

The Kādamba Shashṭha-dēva (Chaṭṭa), son of Gūhalla, was reigning about 1007 in succession to the latter.

1008 Ānanda-pāla, the Śāhi, in alliance with Rājya-pāla of Kanauj, the Chandella Dhaṅga, the Ghakhars, and others, fought a great battle against Maḥmūd of Ghazni near Ohind on the Indus, but was defeated. Maḥmūd then marched along the hills as far as Bhīma-nagara (Nagarkot or Kangra), which he captured. This was his fifth expedition.

Nirbhaya and Rudra-dēva were reigning in Nepal.

The Śilāhāra Raṭṭa of the Southern Konkan was reigning, in succession to his father Avasara III, as feudatory of the W. Chālukya Satyāśraya.

1009 Vikramāditya V, W. Chālukya of Kalyani, was ruling, in succession to his uncle Satyāśraya Iṛiva-beḍaṅga. He was the son of the latter's younger brother Yaśō-varman or Daśa-varman. His successor, according to one inscription, was Ayyaṇa II.

1010 Maḥmūd of Ghazni took Multan.

Bhōja-dēva, Paramāra king of Malwa, succeeded his father Sindhu-rāja about 1010. He carried on wars with Indra-ratha, Toggala (?), the kings of Chēdi and Lāṭa, the Turushkas, the Chāhamānas of Nadol (see above, A.D. 950), and the W. Chālukyas Jaya-siṃha II and Sōmēśvara I, and overcame the Chaulukya Bhīma-dēva I (see below).

1011 The E. Chālukya Vimalāditya, son of Dānārṇava, was crowned as successor of his brother Śakti-varman. He married a daughter of the Chōḷa Rāja-rāja I, and is said to have reigned 7 years. See above, A.D. 985.

Kuḍiya-varman II, prince of Vela-nāḍu, was ruling about 1011 as feudatory of Vimalāditya. See above, A.D. 880.

1012 The Chōḷa Rājēndra-Chōḷa I succeeded his father Rāja-rāja I. He fought against Indiradan (Indra-ratha), Dharma-pāla of Daṇḍa-bhukti, Raṇa-śūra of Lāṭa, Gōvinda-chandra

A.D. 1012 of Bengal, Mahī-pāla (the Pāla Mahī-pāla I ?), and Saṅgrāma-vijayōttuṅga-varman of Kaḍāram. He claimed to have conquered Eḍatūr, Banawasi, Maṇṇai, Ceylon, etc. (3rd–5th years), Malabar (5th–6th years), the territory of the W. Chālukya Jaya-siṃha II, whom he defeated at Muśaṅgi (8th–9th years), Kaḍāram (12th–19th years), Orissa, Kōsala, Gujarat, Bengal, Chakra-kōṭṭa, Madura, etc.

1013 Maḥmūd of Ghazni made his 8th expedition into India.

Trilōchana-pāla, son of Ānanda-pāla, Śāhi king of Udabhāṇḍa (Waihand), and a Kashmiri army under Tuṅga, were about 1013 defeated by Maḥmūd of Ghazni near the river Tohi of Prunts, and the Śāhi kingdom was overthrown.

1014 Maḥmūd of Ghazni conquered Thanesar (9th expedition).

1015 Maḥmūd of Ghazni unsuccessfully advanced against Kashmir (10th expedition).

Rudra, Bhōja, and Lakshmī-kāma were reigning in Nepal. The last was still reigning in 1039. Between 1039 and 1065 Jaya-dēva, Udaya, Bhāskara, and Bala-dēva (?) reigned.

1017 Ari-kēsarin, Śilāhāra of the Northern Konkan, was reigning in succession to his brother Vajjaḍa II.

1018 Maḥmūd of Ghazni captured Mathura (held by Haradatta, Ḍōr Raja of Baran), Kanauj, and Manj, and slew Chandra-pāla. Rājya-pāla (see above, A.D. 893) retired from Kanauj to Bari.

The W. Chālukya Jaya-siṃha II of Kalyani (Jagad-ēka-malla I) was reigning 1018–1040, in succession to his elder brother Vikramāditya V or Ayyaṇa II. He defeated the Chōḷa Rājēndra-Chōḷa I and the Chēras, made war against the Paramāra Bhōja-dēva, and exercised suzerainty over the Sindas, etc.

Among Jaya-siṃha's minor feudatories were the Kādamba Tōyima-dēva, son of Jaya-siṃha's sister Akkā-dēvī (ruling in Banawasi 1036), and Jaya-kēśin and Iṟiva-beḍaṅga Māra-siṃha (in Puligere 1038).

Kīrti-rāja, Chālukya viceroy of Gujarat and son of Goggi-rāja, was reigning. A feudatory of his was the Rāshṭrakūṭa Sambu-rāja, son of Amṛita-rāja, son of Kunda-rāja. He was succeeded by his son Vatsa-rāja and his son Trilōchana-pāla (A.D. 1051 ; see below).

The Chōḷa Rājādhirāja I succeeded (his father ?) Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. He defeated the allied southern kings Mānābharaṇa, Vīra Kērala, and Sundara Pāṇḍya, likewise Vīra Pāṇḍya ; the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara I and his

A.D. 1018 viceroys Vikramāditya VI and Vishṇu-vardhana Vijayāditya (at Koppam, in 1052); the Sinhalese kings Vikramabāhu, Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Vīra Salāmevan, and Śrī-vallabha Madana-rāja; in the North, Gaṇḍarāditya (?), Nārāyaṇa, Gaṇa-pati, Madhu-sūdana. He destroyed the residence of the Chālukyas at Kampili, and ruled by viceroys over the territories of the Chālukyas, Chēras, Pāṇḍyas, Gaṅgas, Pallavas, Ceylon, and Kanauj.

1019 Rājya-pāla of Kanauj was defeated and slain by the Kachchhapa-ghāta Arjuna, son of Yuva-rāja, on behalf of his suzerain the Chandella Vidyādhara, son of Gaṇḍa. He was succeeded by Trilōchana-pāla, who was reigning in 1027.

1020 Kaliṅga-rāja, the first in the succession of the KAḶACHURIS (HAIHAYAS) OF RATNA-PURA (in Eastern Chēdi or Mahākōsala), lived about 1020. He was a descendant of the Kaḷachuri Kokkalla I of Tripurī, and conquered Southern Kōsala. He was succeeded by his son Kamala-rāja, his son Ratna-rāja, his son Pṛithvī-dēva I, his son Jājalla I (1114 A.D.; see below), etc.

About this time reigned Jaya-varman II, Kādamba king of Hangal, the first of importance in the later dynasty of KĀDAMBAS OF HANGAL, feudatories of the W. Chālukyas of Kalyani (on his predecessors see above). He was followed by his son Māvuli-dēva.

1021 Maḥmūd of Ghazni, marching to support the king of Kanauj against the Chandella Gaṇḍa, captured Bari, drove back Gaṇḍa, and defeated and slew at the Rahib the Śāhi Trilōchana-pāla, who was succeeded by his son Bhīma-pāla. Maḥmūd annexed Lahore.

1022 Bhīma-dēva I, Chaulukya king of Anhilwar, is said to have succeeded his uncle (?) Durlabha-rāja. On his wars with the Chāhamānas of Nadol see above, A.D. 950.

The Hoysaḷa prince Nṛipa-kāma, the first historically recorded member of the dynasty of the HOYSAḶAS (Poysaḷas) OF DŌRA-SAMUDRA (Halebid), was reigning.

The E. Chālukya Rāja-rāja Vishṇu-vardhana succeeded his father Vimalāditya. He married a daughter of the Chōḷa Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, and reigned about 41 years. His brother Vijayāditya VII ruled for 15 years under him in Vēṅgī.

1023 Maḥmūd of Ghazni besieged Gwalior, where he was bought off, and made terms with the Chandella Gaṇḍa.

1025 Maḥmūd of Ghazni marched upon Somnath. Bhīmadēva I of Anhilwar fled from before him to Kanthkot.

Bhīma-pāla, Śāhi king, died.

A.D. 1025 Bhillama III, Yādava of Sēuṇa-dēśa, a feudatory of the W. Chālukya Jaya-siṃha II, was reigning in succession to his father Vēsū.

1026 Maḥmūd of Ghazni captured Somnath, and marched to Kachh against Bhīma-dēva, who fled. Later he made an expedition against the Jats of Jud.

Chhitta-rāja, Śilāhāra of the Northern Konkan, and son of Vajjaḍa II, was reigning in succession to Ari-kēsarin. He was followed by his younger brother Nāgārjuna.

Mahī-pāla I, Pāla king of Bengal, was ruling, in succession to his father Vigraha-pāla II. He reigned at least 11 years.

1028 Hari-rāja, succeeding his father Saṅgrāma-rāja of Kashmir, died after reigning 22 days, and was followed by his brother Ananta.

1030 Maḥmūd of Ghazni died, and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad.

1033 The Sinda Nāgāditya, son of Pulikāla (above, A.D. 1000), was reigning as feudatory of the W. Chālukyas. With him is mentioned his son Pola-sinda, and after him Sēvya-rasa, vassal of Sōmēśvara II.

1035 The Kachchhapa-ghāta Abhimanyu was reigning about 1035 in succession to his father Arjuna.

1036 Mas'ūd of Ghazni captured Hansi.

Yaśaḥ-pāla, Pratihāra king of Kanauj, was reigning; see above, A.D. 893.

1037 Gāṅgēya Vikramāditya, Kaḷachuri of Tripurī, was reigning about 1037, in succession to his father Kokkalla II (see above, A.D. 974). He was contemporary with the Chandella Vijaya-pāla of Jējā-bhukti, who about this time succeeded his father Vidyādhara.

1038 Vajra-hasta IV, E. Gaṅga of Kaliṅga-nagara, was crowned in succession to his father Kāmārṇava, and reigned 30 or 33 years.

1039 Lakshmī-kāma was reigning in Nepal.

1040 Yaśō-vigraha, a Gāhaḍavāla chief with whom begins the pedigree of the GĀHAḌAVĀLAS OF KANAUJ, lived about 1040. He was succeeded by his son Mahī-chandra (Mahīyala), his son Chandra-dēva (A.D. 1097; see below), etc.

About this time lived Bhuvana-pāla, ruling over Uttara-samudra, apparently between the Ghagra and Gandak rivers and Nepal. He was followed by his son Vikrama-pāla and his son Kīrti-pāla (A.D. 1111; see below).

Ẹrega, Raṭṭa prince of Saundatti and Belgaum, was reigning in succession to his father Kanna I.

The Hoysaḷa Vinayāditya, son of Nṛipa-kāma, was

A.D. 1040 ruling *c.* 1040 as Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara the country between the Konkan and the districts of Bhadadavayal, Talakad, and Savimale, as a feudatory of the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. He was apparently succeeded by his son Ereyaṅga (Eraga), who burned Dhārā and devastated Chakra-kōṭṭa (?), his son Ballāḷa I (A.D. 1103; see below), etc.

Naya-pāla, son of Mahī-pāla, Pāla king of Bengal, was reigning about 1040 (at least 15 years).

1042 Pūrṇa-pāla, Paramāra prince of Arbuda (Mount Abu), was reigning. He was son of Dhandhuka, son of Mahī-pāla, son (or grandson) of Adbhuta-kṛishṇa-rāja, son of Āraṇya-rāja, son of Utpala-rāja. His sister Lāhiṇī was the widow of Vigraha-rāja, son of Chacha, son of Durlabha-rāja, son of Saṅgama-rāja, king of Badarī in Vaṃśa-raṭha, who was a descendant of Bhava-gupta of Vaṭa-pura or Vaṭa-nagara, whose lineage was from a brahman adventurer named Yōṭa.

Karṇa, Kaḷachuri of Tripurī, was reigning in succession to his father Gāṅgēya Vikramāditya. He and Bhīma-dēva I of Anhilwar defeated Bhōja-dēva of Malwa about this time. He was himself defeated by Bhīma-dēva, and also by the Chandella Kīrti-varman, the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara I, and the Paramāra Udayāditya.

1044 The Kachchhapa-ghāta Vijaya-pāla was reigning in succession to his father Abhimanyu.

Sōmēśvara I, W. Chālukya of Kalyani, was reigning 1044–1068, in succession to his father Jaya-siṃha II. Among his feudatories were Chāvuṇḍa-rāja of Banawasi, the Kādamba Jaya-kēśin I of Goa, and the Kādamba Kīrti-varman II of Hangal (son of Tailapa I). He is related to have stormed Conjevaram; captured Dhārā, the capital of the Paramāra Bhōja-dēva; and defeated Karṇa of Chēdi, of the family of Kaḷachuris of Tripurī (see also below).

During Sōmēśvara's reign his son Vikramāditya conquered the Chōḷas, fought in alliance with the king of Malwa, and invaded Bengal and Assam. Sōmēśvara's son Vishṇu-vardhana Vijayāditya was governing Noḷamba-vāḍi in 1064–6; another son, Jaya-siṃha III, was ruling at Tarda-vāḍi in 1064.

Among Sōmēśvara's other feudatories were the Kādambas Chāvuṇḍa-rāya (in Banawasi 1046), Hari-kēsarin (at Banawasi 1055, under Vikramāditya VI), and Tōyima-dēva (in Banawasi and Panungal 1065).

1048 Aṅka, Raṭṭa prince of Saundatti and Belgaum, and younger brother of Erega, was reigning. He was succeeded by the latter's son Sēna (Kāla-sēna) I.

A.D. 1050 About this time reigned the Kādamba Tailapa I of Hangal, apparently in succession to his elder brother Māvuli-dēva. He was followed by his brothers Śānti-varman II, Chōki-dēva, and Vikrama.

1051 Trilōchana-pāla, Chālukya viceroy of Gujarat, was reigning in succession to his father Vatsa-rāja.

Dēva-varman, Chandella of Jējā-bhukti, was reigning in succession to Vijaya-pāla.

1052 Sōmēśvara I, W. Chālukya, was defeated by the army of the Chōḷa Rājādhirāja I at Koppam. Rājādhirāja fell in the battle, which was won by his brother Rājēndra-dēva, who succeeded him, and reigned until about 1062.

Jaya-kēśin I, Kādamba of Goa, was reigning at Goa in succession to his father Shashṭha-dēva I as feudatory of the W. Chālukyas of Kalyani. He claims to have conquered the Āḷupas, Chōḷas, and Kāpardika-dvīpa, overthrown a certain Kāma-dēva, and established the Chālukyas in their kingdom. He was followed by his son Vijayāditya I.

1055 Jaya-siṃha, Paramāra king of Malwa, was reigning in succession to Bhōja-dēva.

The W. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI was ruling as viceroy for his father Sōmēśvara I at Banawasi. He carried on several successful campaigns in the South, defeating the Chōḷas, raiding Conjevaram and Malabar, conquering Vēṅgī, Chakra-kōṭṭa, etc.; he also aided a king of Malwa to recover his kingdom, and is said to have even made expeditions into Central Bengal and Assam.

1058 Māra-siṃha, Śilāhāra prince of Karad, and son of Goṅka, was reigning, with the title "Lord of Tagara" (Ter). He was followed by his sons Gūvala II, Gaṅga-dēva, Bhōja-dēva I, Ballāḷa, and Gaṇḍarāditya (A.D. 1110–1135; see below), etc.

1059 Udayāditya, Paramāra king of Malwa, was reigning 1059–1080, in succession to Jaya-siṃha. He defeated the Kaḷachuri Karṇa. He was followed by his sons Lakshma-dēva and Nara-varman (A.D. 1104; see below), etc.

1060 The Paramāra king Kṛishṇa-rāja, son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Dēva-rāja, was reigning at Bhinmal 1060–1067. See above, 950 A.D.

Mummuṇi (Māmvāṇi-rāja), Śilāhāra of the Northern Konkan, was reigning about 1060 in succession to his elder brother Nāgārjuna.

1062 The Chōḷa Rāja-mahēndra apparently succeeded (his father?) Rājēndra-dēva.

1063 Ananta of Kashmir abdicated in favour of his son Kalaśa. Soon, however, he returned to the control of affairs.

A.D. 1063 Karṇa Trailōkya-malla, Chaulukya king of Anhilwar, was reigning in succession to his father Bhīma-dēva I. He was still ruling in 1091. On his war with the Chāhamānas of Nadol see above, A.D. 950.

The Chōḷa Vīra-rājēndra succeeded between 1062 and 1063, apparently following Rāja-mahēndra. His records claim that he defeated the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara I five times; he worsted him, with Vikramāditya VI and Jaya-siṃha III, at Kūḍal-saṅgamam, and subsequently burned Kampili. He seized Vēṅgī, which with the Raṭṭa territory he gave to the E. Chālukya Vijayāditya VI, whom he made his heir-apparent. He also took Chakra-kōṭṭa, recovered Kanauj, reduced the Pāṇḍya and Chēra kingdoms, Ceylon and Kaḍāram, and dispossessed the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara II of the Kanarese country. He reigned until at least 1069. Apparently he was suceeeded by Adhirājēndra, who reigned at least 3 years.

1065 Pradyumna-kāma-dēva (Padma-dēva), son of Bala-dēva, Navākōṭ Ṭhākurī, was reigning in Nepal. He was succeeded by his son Nāgārjuna-dēva and Śaṅkara-dēva (A.D. 1071; see below).

Madhurāntaka, of the Chhindaka Nāga-vaṃśa, was governing the Bhramara-kōṭya in Bastar (Central Provinces).

1068 Sōmēśvara II, W. Chālukya of Kalyani, succeeded his father Sōmēśvara I. He defeated the Chōḷa Vīra-rājēndra, the Chēras, Pāṇḍyas, Pallavas, etc., and was suzerain of the Raṭṭas, Kādambas, Sindas, etc. His brother Jaya-siṃha III was governing Noḷamba-vāḍi in 1072; for Vikramāditya VI, see below, A.D. 1069. Among other feudatories, Udayāditya Gaṅga Permāḍi was governing Banawasi, Mandali, and Santalige in 1075.

The Kādamba Kīrti-varman II of Hangal, son of Tailapa I, was governing Banawasi, apparently in succession to his uncle Vikrama, as feudatory of the W. Chālukyas for some years from 1068.

1069 Vikramāditya VI, W. Chālukya viceroy of Banawasi under his brother Sōmēśvara II, reduced the Kādamba Jaya-kēśin of Goa and the Āḷupas, made alliance with the Chōḷa Vīra-rājendra, and made the latter's son Para-kēsari-varman king of Conjevaram.

Sēuṇa-chandra II, Yādava of Sēuṇa-dēśa, was reigning. He was suzerain of the Maurya Gōvinda-rāja. He is probably the same as Sēvaṇa, with whom begins the dynasty of the YĀDAVAS OF DĒVA-GIRI (Daulatabad). He was followed in the latter line by his son Mallugi; his sons Amara-gaṅga and Karṇa; Karṇa's son Bhillama (A.D. 1191; see below), etc.

A.D. 1070 Rājēndra-Chōḷa II (Rājiga), son of the E. Chālukya Rāja-rāja, after having reigned at Vēṅgī, was in 1070 crowned king of the Chōḷa kingdom, and took the name of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. While still heir-apparent he gained a victory at Vajrākaram and conquered the king of Dhārā at Chakra-kōṭṭa. By 1080 he had defeated the king of Kuntala and the W. Chālukyas Vikramāditya VI and Jaya-siṃha III. By 1083 he had overrun the Pāṇḍya land, and subdued the south-west of the peninsula as far as the Gulf of Mannar, the Podiyil Mountain in Tinnevelly district, Cape Comorin, Kōṭṭāru, the Western Ghats, and Malabar.

Goṅka I, prince of Vela-nādu, was ruling about 1070 as feudatory of Rājēndra-Chōḷa, who adopted his son Chōḍa. See above, A.D. 880.

1071 Śaṅkara-dēva, Navākōṭ Ṭhākurī, succeeded his father Nāgārjuna in Nepal about 1071–1072.

1074 Vigraha-pāla III, Pāla king of Bengal, succeeded his father Naya-pāla about 1074, and reigned at least 12 years. He was succeeded by his sons Mahī-pāla II, Śūra-pāla, and Rāma-pāla (*c.* A.D. 1080 ; see below), etc.

1075 Śānti-varman II, Kādamba of Hangal, son of Jaya-varman II, was ruling 1075–89 as feudatory of the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara II.

Rāja-rāja I, E. Gaṅga of Kaliṅga-nagara, was reigning, in succession to his father Vajra-hasta.

1076 Ananta and his son Kalaśa of Kashmir having quarrelled, Kalaśa prepared to make war upon Ananta, whom he deprived of the treasures and stores at Vijayēśvara. In 1081 Ananta to avoid exile killed himself.

Vikramāditya VI, W. Chālukya viceroy of Banawasi, took the field against Rājiga of Vēṅgī, who had seized upon Conjevaram and deposed Para-kēsari-varman. His brother Sōmēśvara II, who had followed him, was captured, and Vikramāditya was proclaimed king of the W. Chālukyas. He reigned until at least 1125. He was suzerain of the Kādambas Kīrti-varman II, Śānti-varman II, and Tailapa II of Hangal, the Sinda Ācha II, the Guttas, the Raṭṭas, Barma-dēva (in Banawasi and Santalige 1077), the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhāḍī-bhaṇḍaka (Dhāḍia-dēva, at Sitabaldi near Nagpur 1087), the Pāṇḍya Tribhuvana-malla Kāma-dēva (in the Konkan 1112, in Noḷamba-vāḍi 1121), the W. Gaṅga Udayāditya Gaṅga Permāḍi (in Banawasi and Santalige 1112), etc. Two younger brothers are mentioned in inscriptions, viz. Jaya-siṃha III (viceroy in Banawasi, Santalige, Belvola, Puligere, and Basavalli, 1072–79, who

A.D. 1076 raised a revolt which was soon suppressed), and Vishṇu-vardhana Vijayāditya (1064–66), likewise his son Jaya-karṇa (1087–1121).

1077 Sōḍha, apparently a Kaḷachuri, was reigning 1077–1079, in succession to Maryādā-sāgara, in the neighbourhood of Kahla (Gorakhpur District).

1078 The E. Chālukya Vīra-chōḍa Vishṇu-vardhana was appointed by his father Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I king of Vēṅgī, where his brother Mummaḍi-Chōḍa Rāja-rāja had previously ruled one year.

Vedura II, prince of Vela-nāḍu, was ruling (*c.* 1078) as feudatory of Vīra-Chōḍa. See above, A.D. 880.

Ananta-varman Chōḍa-gaṅga, E. Gaṅga of Kaliṅga-nagara, was crowned as successor to his father Rāja-rāja I, and reigned until *c.* 1142.

1080 Kṛishṇa, Kaḷachurya prince of Kālañjara, to whom the dynasty of the KAḶACHURYAS OF KALYANI later traced their pedigree, was living *c.* 1080.

About this time lived Mā-gutta, from whom begins the dynasty of the GUTTAS OF GUTTAL, at first feudatories of the W. Chālukyas of Kalyani. He was followed by his son Gutta I, his son Malla (Malli-dēva, under the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI), his son Vīra-vikramāditya I, his son Jōyi-dēva I (A.D. 1181 ; see below), etc.

Rāma-pāla, Pāla king of Bengal, son of Mahī-pāla, succeeded about 1080. He killed Bhīma of Mithilā (Champaran and Darbhanga districts), and conquered his country. He also ruled over Assam. He was followed by his son Kumāra-pāla, his son Gōpāla III, Rāma-pāla's son Madana-pāla (at least 19 years?), and Gōvinda-pāla (A.D. 1161 ; see below).

Sāmanta-sēna, a Brahma-kshatriya, who is the first recorded member of the SĒNA dynasty, probably lived about this time. He was succeeded by his son Hēmanta-sēna, his son Vijaya-sēna (who defeated Nānya, Vīra, Rāghava, etc.), his son Ballāḷa-sēna (*c.* A.D. 1169 ; see below), etc.

1082 The Sinda Muñja, son of Sinda-rāja, son of Bhīma, with the title "Lord of Bhōgāvati," was ruling as feudatory of the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI.

Kanna II, a Raṭṭa prince, with the title "Lord of Lattalūr," was reigning, in succession to his father Sēna I, as feudatory of the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI.

1084 The E. Chālukya Chōḍa-gaṅga Rāja-rāja was appointed by his father Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I king of Vēṅgī, in succession to the former's brother Vīra-Chōḍa.

A.D. 1087 Kārtavīrya (Katta) II, a Raṭṭa prince and feudatory of the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, succeeded his elder brother Kanna II. He was followed by his son Sēna II or Kāla-sēna (1087–96?), who apparently also governed Kundi under Jaya-karṇa, son of Vikramāditya VI. Sēna II was followed by his son Kārtavīrya III (Kattama), his son Lakshmī-dēva I (Lakshmaṇa or Lakshmīdhara), etc.

1088 The Kachchhapa-ghāta king Vikrama-siṃha was reigning in succession to his father Vijaya-pāla.

1089 Utkarsha, son of Kalaśa of Kashmir, and previously viceroy of Lohara, succeeded Kalaśa, but after reigning 22 days was dethroned by his brother Harsha, who became king. Harsha re-established suzerainty over Rajauri, but later lost it.

1090 Vāma-dēva, descended from a collateral of Aṃśu-varman, is said to have dethroned the Navākōṭ Ṭhākurī Śaṅkara-dēva of Nepal about this time, and founded the second Ṭhākurī dynasty. He is perhaps the same as Vāṇa-dēva, son of Yaśō-dēva, of whom an inscription of A.D. 1083 survives.

1091 Jōjalla (Yōjaka), Chāhamāna of Nadol, son of Jendra-rāja, was reigning. At one time he was in possession of Anhilwar. See above, A.D. 950.

1093 Rāma-dēva (Harsha-dēva) was reigning in Nepal. He was followed by Sadāśiva-dēva, Indra-dēva, Māna-dēva (A.D. 1139; see below), etc.

Jaya-siṃha Siddha-rāja, Chaulukya king of Anhilwar, succeeded his father Karṇa. He defeated Yaśō-varman of Malwa and a prince Varvaraka. On his relations with Āśā-rāja of Nadol see above, A.D. 950.

Mahī-pāla, son of Sūrya-pāla, Kachchhapa-ghāta of Gwalior, was reigning, in succession to his cousin (?) Padma-pāla.

1094 Ananta-pāla, Śilāhāra of the Northern Konkan, and son of Nāgārjuna, was reigning in succession to Mummuṇi. He apparently had some success in driving from the N. Konkan the Kādambas of Goa.

1097 Chandra-dēva, the Gāhaḍavāla king who conquered and established himself in Kanauj, was reigning, in succession to his father Mahī-chandra.

1098 Harsha of Kashmir was defeated in an expedition against the Dards of Dudkhut.

Kīrti-varman, son of Vijaya-pāla, Chandella of Jējā-bhukti, was reigning in succession to Dēva-varman. He conquered the Kaḷachuri Karṇa, and was succeeded by his son Sal-lakshaṇa-varman (said to have fought with success

A.D. 1098 against the kings of Antarvēdī, Malwa, and Chēdi), his son Jaya-varman (A.D. 1117; see below), etc.

1100 About 1100 flourished Jōgama, a Kaḷachurya with the title "Lord of Kālañjara," who succeeded his father Kṛishṇa.

About this time lived Durjaya, with whom begins the dynasty of the KĀKATĪYAS OF ANUMAKONDA. He was succeeded by his son Bēta Tribhuvana-malla and grandson Prōla (*c.* 1160; see below), etc.

In the twelfth century perhaps lived the king Śūdraka, his son Viśva-rūpa, and his son Yaksha-pāla, of Gaya.

1101 Harsha of Kashmir was dethroned and killed by Uchchala and Sussala, sons of Malla, direct descendant in the third generation of Kānti-rāja, brother of queen Diddā. Uchchala succeeded, founding the Second Lohara dynasty.

1103 The Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa I of Dōra-samudra was reigning, in succession to his father Ereyaṅga. He is recorded to have defeated a certain Jagad-dēva (? the Sāntara king of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha-pura, a feudatory of the W. Chālukya Jagad-ēka-malla II).

1104 Madana-pāla, Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj, was reigning 1104–1109, in succession to his father Chandra-dēva.

Nara-varman, Paramāra king of Malwa, was reigning in succession to his brother Lakshma-dēva 1104–1107.

1108 The Kādamba Tailapa II of Hangal, son of Śānti-varman II, was reigning 1108–1129, apparently in succession to Kīrti-varman II, as feudatory of the W. Chālukyas Vikramāditya VI and Sōmēśvara III.

1110 Gaṇḍarāditya, Śilāhāra of Kolhapur, son of Māra-siṃha, was reigning 1110–1135, with the title "Lord of Tagara."

1111 Uchchala of Kashmir was murdered. His brother Raḍḍa Śaṅkha-rāja reigned for one night; Salhaṇa, a half-brother, was then made king.

Kīrti-pāla was reigning, in succession to his father Vikrama-pāla, over Uttara-samudra, apparently between Nepal and the Ghagra and Gandak.

Kanhara-dēva, son of Sōmēśvara, son of Dhārā-varsha, Nāgavaṃśīya Kshatriya king ("lord of Bhōgavatī"), was reigning in Bastar, Central Provinces.

1112 Salhaṇa of Kashmir was deposed, after reigning nearly four months, and was succeeded by Sussala, brother of Uchchala.

1114 Gōvinda-chandra, Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj, was reigning 1114–1154, in succession to his father Madana-pāla. His sons Āsphōṭa-chandra and Rājya-pāla were associated with him in the government in 1134 and 1143 respectively.

Jājalla I, Kaḷachuri of Ratna-pura, was reigning in succession to his father Pṛithvī-dēva I. He defeated

A.D. 1114 Bhuja-bala of Suvarṇa-pura. He was succeeded by his son Ratna-rāja II (Ratna-dēva), who defeated the E. Gaṅga Ananta-varman Chōḍa-gaṅga.

1115 The Hoysaḷa Vishṇu-vardhana (Biṭṭi-dēva, Biṭṭiga) of Dōra-samudra was reigning 1115–1137, in succession to his brother Ballāḷa I. He defeated Narasiṃha-varman and Adiyama, feudatories of the Chōḷas, the Chōḷa Iruṅgōḷa, the king of Malwa, the Kādamba Jaya-kēśin II of Goa, the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, the W. Gaṅgas of Talakad, the Pāṇḍyas and Tulus, Jagad-dēva (of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha-pura ?), the kings of Cheṅ-giri and Malenad, etc., and attacked Conjevaram, Hangal, Koṅgu, Coimbatore, the Konkan, etc. In an invasion of the Chālukya territories he was defeated by the Sinda Ācha II and his son Permāḍi I, who is said to have besieged Dōra-samudra and taken his capital Bēlāpura. His kingdom, which was now independent, is said to have been bounded on the north by Sāvimale, the lower Naṅgali Ghat on the east, the Koṅgu, Chēra, and Annāmalai districts on the south, and the Bārakanūr Ghat on the west.

1117 Jaya-varman, Chanḍella of Jējā-bhukti, was reigning in succession to his father Sal-lakshaṇa-varman. He was followed by his uncle Pṛithvī-varman, the latter's son Madana-varman (A.D. 1129–1162 ; see below), etc.

1118 Sussala of Kashmir made an expedition against Sōma-pāla of Rajauri, but had to retire in spring 1119.

Vikrama-Chōḷa, son of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I., succeeded his father as king of the Chōḷas and suzerain of Vēṅgī. He defeated the Telugu prince Bhīma (Vīman) of Kuḷam (Ellore), invaded Kaliṅga, etc., and reigned at least 17 years.

1120 Sussala of Kashmir was dethroned, and was succeeded by Bhikshāchara (Bhikshu), son of Harsha's son Bhōja.

Yaśaḥ-karṇa, Kaḷachuri of Tripurī, was reigning 1120–1122, in succession to his father Karṇa. He is said to have conquered a king of the Āndhras.

The Kachchhapa-ghāta king Vīra-siṃha was reigning in Nala-pura. He was son of Śarada-siṃha, whose predecessor was Gagana-siṃha.

1121 Bhikshāchara of Kashmir was dethroned and succeeded by Sussala, after reigning 6 months. War between them went on.

1122 About 1122 the family of the SINDAS OF YELBURGA appear in history. They traced their descent to Ācha I (Āchugi), his six younger brothers Nāka, Siṅga I, Dāsa, Dāva (Dāma), Chāvuṇḍa I, and Chāva, and Ācha's sons Bamma

A.D. 1122 and Singa II. Ācha II, son of Singa II, was a feudatory of the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI of Kalyani, and was reigning in 1122. He repulsed the Śilāhāra Bhōja I (before 1109) and the Hoysaḷas, Pāṇḍyas, and Malapas, overran the Konkan, burned down Goa, etc.

1125 Vīra Kērala-varman was reigning in Travancore.

1126 Sōmēśvara III, W. Chālukya of Kalyani, succeeded his father Vikramāditya VI. He was suzerain of the Kaḷachurya Permāḍi, the Kādamba Taila II of Hangal, the Kādamba Jaya-kēśin II of Goa, Vīra Pāṇḍya, who ruled over the Noḷamba-vāḍi district at Uchchangī-durga, etc.

1128 Sussala of Kashmir was murdered. He was succeeded by his son Jaya-siṃha.

The Kaḷachurya Permāḍi (Para-mardin) of Kālañjara, son of Jōgama, was reigning in Tarda-vāḍi as feudatory of the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara III of Kalyani.

1129 Madana-varman, Chandella of Jējā-bhukti, was reigning in succession to his father Pṛithvī-varman 1129–1162. He defeated the kings of Chēdi and Malwa, etc.

1130 Jaya-siṃha of Kashmir killed his rival Bhikshāchara.

1134 Yaśō-varman, Paramāra king of Malwa, was reigning 1134–1135 in succession to his father Nara-varman. He was followed by his sons Jaya-varman and Lakshmī-varman (A.D. 1143; see below), etc.

1135 Tailapa II, Kādamba of Hangal, died about 1135, during or soon after a siege of Hangal by the Hoysaḷa Vishṇu-vardhana, who for a time held possession of his territories. His sons Mayūra-varman II, Mallikārjuna, and Tailama are mentioned; the first of these was ruling in 1131, the second in 1132–44, the third in 1147.

1138 Jagad-ēka-malla II, W. Chālukya of Kalyani, succeeded his father Sōmēśvara III, and reigned until at least 1149. He was suzerain of Vijaya Pāṇḍya of Conjevaram, the Sinda and Raṭṭa chieftains, etc.

1139 Māna-dēva, Ṭhākurī, great-grandson of Vāma-dēva, was reigning in Nepal.

1140 Arṇō-rāja (Avella-dēva), Chāhamāna king of Śākambharī, was reigning about 1140, in succession to his father Jaya-dēva.

1141 Narēndra was reigning in Nepal. He was succeeded by Narasiṃha, Ānanda (A.D. 1165; see below), etc.

Pṛithvī-dēva II, Kaḷachuri of Ratna-pura, was reigning 1141–1158, in succession to his father Ratna-rāja II.

1142 Rāya-pāla was reigning in Nadol 1142–1144; see above, A.D. 950.

Sēuṇa-dēva, Yādava of Sēuṇa-dēśa, was reigning, as feudatory of the W. Chālukya Jagad-ēka-malla II.

A.D. 1142 Kāmārṇava VI, E. Gaṅga of Kaliṅga-nagara, succeeded his father Ananta-varman Chōḍa-gaṅga.

1143 Lakshmī-varman, Paramāra of Malwa, was reigning as Mahā-kumāra, in succession (?) to his brother Jaya-varman. He apparently established himself independently in Malwa.

Vijayāditya, Śilāhāra of Kolhapur, was reigning 1143–1150, in succession to his father Gaṇḍarāditya. He is said to have restored the princes of Thāṇā and Goa, and aided Bijjala against the W. Chālukyas of Kalyani.

Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II, son and successor of Vikrama-Chōḷa, was reigning in 1143. The E. Chalukya dynasty of Vēṅgī apparently ends with him. He reigned at least 14 years (until 1146).

1144 Permāḍi (Pemma) I, Sinda of Yelburga, was reigning in succession to his father Ācha II in Kisukad, Bagadage, Kelavadi, and Nareyangal under the W. Chālukya Jagad-ēka-malla II. He defeated Kula-śēkhara, Chaṭṭa, Jaya-kēśin II of Goa, the Hoysaḷa Vishṇu-vardhana, etc.

1145 Kumāra-pāla, Chaulukya king of Anhilwar, was reigning 1145–1169, having succeeded his uncle Jaya-siṃha about 1143. He defeated the Chāhamāna Arṇō-rāja and Ballāḷa of Dhārā, and conquered Malwa, about 1150. Ālhaṇa of Nadol was his feudatory.

1146 The Chōḷa Rāja-rāja II succeeded (his father?) Vikrama-Chōḷa, and reigned at least 15 years.

1147 Jaya-kēśin II, Kādamba of Goa, who had reigned in succession to his father Vijayāditya, as feudatory of the W. Chālukyas of Kalyani, died in 1147. He married a daughter of the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, and ruled over the Konkan, Kavadi-dvīpa, Hayve, and Palasige. He was defeated by the Sindas Ācha II and Permāḍi I, possibly in an attempt to become independent. His successor was his son Śiva-chitta Permāḍi (Para-mardin), who reigned until at least 1174.

1149 Jagad-dēva, Sāntara prince of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha-pura (Humcha), was ruling at Sētuvina Bīḍu, as feudatory of the W. Chālukya Jagad-ēka-malla II.

1150 Taila (Tailapa) III, W. Chālukya of Kalyani, succeeded about 1150 his elder brother Jagad-ēka-malla II. Among his feudatories were the Kaḷachurya Bijjala or Bijjaṇa of Kālañjara, the Kadamba Śiva-chitta Permāḍi of Goa (in Banawasi), Vijaya Pāṇḍya in Conjevaram, the Sinda Chāvuṇḍa II (who apparently broke away from him), etc.

1151 Gayā-karṇa, Kaḷachuri of Tripurī, was reigning in succession to his father Yaśaḥ-karṇa.

A.D. 1151 Rāghava, son of Ananta-varman Chōḍa-gaṅga, E. Gaṅga of Kaliṅga-nagara, succeeded Kāmārṇava VI about 1151.

1153 Vigraha-rāja (Vīsala-dēva), Chāhamāna king of Śākambharī, was reigning 1153–1164, in succession to his father Arṇō-rāja.

Ālhaṇa (Ahlādana), son of Āśā-rāja, Chāhamāna of Nadol, was reigning 1153–1161. He had three sons, Kelhaṇa, Gaja-siṃha, and Kīrti-pāla. He conquered the Saurāshṭrikas, and supported the Chaulukya Kumāra-pāla. See above, A.D. 950.

Indra-rāja, of the NIKUMBHA family, was ruling in Patna (Khandesh), apparently as feudatory of the Yādavas of Dēva-giri, with his son Gōvana III. This dynasty consisted of Kṛishṇa-rāja I, his son Gōvana I, his son Gōvinda-rāja, his son Gōvana II, his son Kṛishṇa-rāja II, his son Indra-rāja, etc.

1154 Jaya-siṃha of Kashmir died, and was succeeded by his son Paramāṇuka.

Hari-pāla, Śilāhāra of the Northern Konkan, was reigning.

1155 Narasiṃha, Kaḷachuri of Tripurī, was reigning in succession to his father Gayā-karṇa, 1155–1159.

The Kaḷachurya Bijjala or Bijjaṇa, son of Permāḍi, was ruling as nominal feudatory of the W. Chālukyas of Kalyani.

1156 Mallikārjuna, Śilāhāra of the Northern Konkan, was reigning. He was defeated by the Chaulukya Kumāra-pāla.

1158 Vijayāditya II was reigning as heir-apparent to his brother the W. Chālukya Taila III of Kalyani.

1159 By 1159 the Kaḷachurya Bijjala had assumed the title of an independent sovereign (Mahā-rājādhirāja). He usurped the greater part of the kingdom of the W. Chālukya Taila III, and at first made his capital at Annigere.

The Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha I of Dōra-samudra was reigning in succession to his father Vishṇu-vardhana.

1160 About this time the Kākatīya Prōla of Anumakonda was reigning, in succession to his father Bēta. He made prisoner the W. Chālukya Taila III, about 1161–1162, defeated a general Gōvinda-rāja, Guṇḍa of Mantra-kūṭa, Chōḍōdaya (whom he reinstated), Jagad-dēva (of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha-pura ?), etc.

1161 Vīra Ravi-varman was reigning in Travancore, 1161–1166.

Gōvinda-pāla, Pāla king of Bengal, apparently succeeded Madana-pāla. He was reigning in 1175.

1162 The W. Chālukya Taila III seems to have died about 1162. He was followed by his son Sōmēśvara IV, who was reigning 1173(?)–1189. Sōmēśvara partially restored

A.D. 1162 the Chālukya power, by the help of his general Barmarasa, who about 1161 had been in command at Banawasi under Bijjala (see below). Another feudatory was the Kādamba Kāma-dēva of Hangal, son of Tailama (see above, A.D. 1135).

1163 Paramāṇuka of Kashmir was succeeded by his son Avanti-dēva (Vanti-dēva).

Chāvuṇḍa II, Sinda of Yelburga, was reigning 1163–1169, in succession to his elder brother Permāḍi I. He had apparently freed himself from the suzerainty of the W. Chālukya Taila III of Kalyani. His sons Āchi-dēva (Ācha III) and Permāḍi II are mentioned in an inscription of 1163, his sons Bijjala and Vikrama in one of 1169.

The Chōḷa Rājādhirāja II succeeded Rāja-rāja II.

The Kākatīya Rudra-dēva of Anumakonda was reigning in succession to his father Prōla. He had defeated Ḍomma, Maiḷigi-dēva (the Yādava Mallugi of Dēva-giri, or a younger brother of the Kaḷachurya Bijjala?), and a king Bhīma, and burnt the city of Chōḍōdaya. He was followed by his brother Mahā-dēva or Mādhava, etc.

1165 Ānanda or Nanda, Ṭhākurī, son of Narasiṃha, son of Māna-dēva, was reigning in Nepal. He was succeeded by Rudra-dēva, Mitra (Amṛita), Ari-dēva, etc.

Kelhaṇa was reigning in succession to his father Ālhaṇa of Nadol. He defeated Bhillama of Dēva-giri and a Turushka. After him reigned his brother Kīrti-pāla, who defeated Āsala of Kirāta-kūṭa (Keradu in Jodhpur) and a Turushka army, and was followed by his son Samara-siṃha, etc.

The Kaḷachurya Bijjala was now reigning in Kalyani, having usurped the throne of the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV.

Rāja-rāja II, son of Ananta-varman Chōḍa-gaṅga, E. Gaṅga of Kaliṅga-nagara, succeeded Rāghava about 1165.

1167 Pṛithvī-rāja I, Chāhamāna king of Śākambharī, was reigning 1167–1169, in succession to his uncle Vigraha-rāja.

Para-mardin, Chandella of Jējā-bhukti, son of Madana-varman's son Yaśō-varman, was reigning 1167–1201, in succession to Madana-varman.

Jājalla II, Kaḷachuri of Ratna-pura, was reigning in succession to his father Pṛithvī-dēva II.

1168 Vijaya-chandra, Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj, was reigning 1168–1169, in succession to his father Gōvinda-chandra.

The Kaḷachurya Sōmēśvara (Sōvi-dēva) succeeded his father Bijjala, and reigned in Kalyani until at least 1174.

1169 Ballāḷa-sēna, Sēna king of Bengal, was reigning, in succession

A.D. 1169 to his father Vijaya-sēna. He was followed by his son Lakshmaṇa-sēna (see below), etc.

1170 Boppa-dēva (Vuppa) was made king of Kashmir on the death of Avanti-dēva.

Jayach-chandra, Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj, succeeded his father Vijaya-chandra.

Sōmēśvara, son of Arṇō-rāja, Chāhamāna king of Śākambharī, was reigning, in succession to his nephew Pṛithvī-rāja I. He seems to have been succeeded in this year by his son Pṛithvī-rāja II (Pithorā Rāi), on whom see below.

1171 Aśōka-valla, king of the Sapāda-laksha hill country, was reigning 1171–1176. Among his feudatories was Purushōttama-siṃha, king of Kama, son of Kāma-dēva-siṃha, son of Jaya-tuṅga-siṃha.

Vijayāditya II, Kādamba of Goa, was reigning in succession to his elder brother Śiva-chitta.

1172 Vīra Udaya-mārtaṇḍa-varman was reigning in Travancore.

1173 Ajaya-pāla, Chaulukya king of Anhilwar, was reigning 1173–1175, in succession to Kumāra-pāla.

The Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II of Dōra-samudra succeeded his father Narasiṃha I as Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara, and later took the title of Mahā-rājādhirāja. By 1181 he had besieged Uchchaṅgī and captured the Pāṇḍya Kāma-dēva; by 1192 he had defeated Bamma (Barma-rasa), the general of the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV, and Jaitra-siṃha, the general of the Yādavas of Dēva-giri. He reigned until about 1220.

By Ballāḷa's victory over the Kaḷachuryas the Hoysaḷas first gained a footing north of the Tuṅga-bhadrā, and crippled the Kaḷachuryas, though they did not occupy Banawasi until about 1192. Barma-rasa apparently now entered the service of Sōmēśvara IV.

Vīra Udaya-mārtaṇḍa-varman was reigning in Travancore.

1175 Jaya-siṃha, Kaḷachuri of Tripurī, was reigning 1175–1177, in succession to his brother Narasiṃha.

1176 Anaṅga, Ḍōr Raja, was reigning at Bulandshahr.

Mūla-rāja II, Chaulukya king of Anhilwar, succeeded his father (?) Ajaya-pāla about 1176.

1178 Bhīma-dēva II. (Abhinava Siddha-rāja), Chaulukya of Anhilwar, is said to have repelled in 1178 an invasion by Shihāb ud-Dīn Mu'izz ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām of Ghazni, and succeeded his brother Mūla-rāja II in Gujarat. His inscriptions are dated 1199–1238.

Hariśchandra, Paramāra of Malwa, was reigning 1178–1179 as Mahā-kumāra, in succession to his father Lakshmī-varman.

A.D. 1178 The Kaḷachurya Saṅkama succeeded his elder brother Sōmēśvara as king of Kalyani.

Bhōja-dēva II, Śilāhāra of Kolhapur, was reigning 1178–1194, in succession to his father Vijayāditya.

The Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III succeeded, and reigned at least 39 years. He made an expedition to the North, and entered Conjevaram. He defeated a son of Vīra Pāṇḍya, took Madura from the latter, and gave it to Vikrama Pāṇḍya. At Neṭṭūr he again defeated Vīra Pāṇḍya, but pardoned him and the Chēra king.

1179 Jassaka succeeded his brother Boppa-dēva of Kashmir.

Āhava-malla the Kaḷachurya succeeded his elder brother Saṅkama as king of Kalyani about 1179.

1180 Vijaya-siṃha, Kaḷachuri of Tripurī, was reigning 1180–1196, in succession to his father Jaya-siṃha.

1181 Ratna-rāja III (Ratna-dēva), Kaḷachuri of Ratna-pura, was reigning in succession to his father Jājalla II.

The Gutta Jōyi-dēva (Jōma) I of Guttal was reigning in succession to his father Vīra-vikramāditya, as a feudatory of the Kaḷachurya Āhava-malla. He was followed by his brother Gutta II.

1182 Pṛithvī-rāja II, Chāhamāna, defeated the Chandella Paramardin of Jējā-bhukti and captured Mahoba *c.* 1182.

1183 Siṅghaṇa the Kaḷachurya succeeded his elder brother Āhava-malla as king of Kalyani.

1184 Sōmēśvara IV, W. Chālukya of Kalyani, was reigning 1184–1189, in succession to his father Taila III. He overcame the Kaḷachurya Siṅghaṇa, and by the aid of Bomma (Brahma) recovered part of the Chālukya empire, reigning at Annigere. Later, probably through the victories of the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II, his power faded away.

1185 Aparāditya, Śilāhāra of the Northern Konkan, was reigning 1185–1186.

1186 Pṛithvīśvara, prince of Vela-nāḍu, was reigning at Pithapuram. See above, A.D. 880.

1187 Jaya-kēśin III, Kādamba of Goa, succeeded his father Vijayāditya II, and reigned until at least 1201.

The Gutta Vīra-vikramāditya of Guttal was reigning 1187–1213, in succession to his father Gutta II.

1189 The Kādamba Kāma-dēva of Hangal, son of Tailama, was reigning 1189–1196. He was apparently preceded by his elder brother Kīrti-dēva II. In 1189 he was a feudatory of Sōmēśvara IV of Kalyani, later apparently of the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II.

Āditya-rāma-varman was reigning in Travancore.

Aniyaṅka-bhīma, son of Ananta-varman Chōḍa-gaṅga,

A.D. 1189 E. Gaṅga of Kaliṅga-nagara, succeeded Rāja-rāja II about 1189.

1190 Jaṭā-varman Kula-śēkhara, Pāṇḍya king of Madura, succeeded and reigned at least 25 years.

1191 Pṛithvī-rāja II, Chāhamāna, with his allies defeated Mu'izz ud-Dīn (Shihāb ud-Dīn) Muḥammad ibn Sām of Ghazni at Tarain, near Thanesar, and the latter retired to Ghazni.

Bhillama, Yādava of Dēva-giri, was reigning in succession to his father Karṇa. He is said to have slain a Hoysaḷa prince and captured Kalyani, founded Dēva-giri (Daulatabad) as his capital, etc. About this time he was defeated by the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II at Lakkundi, and apparently died soon afterwards. He was also defeated by Kelhaṇa of Nadol.

Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi I, who is said to have overcome a king Rudra of Trikali^{n}ga and made the Kākatīya Gaṇa-pati king of Telingana.

1192 Pṛithvī-rāja II, Chāhamāna, besieged and reduced Tabarhindah, but was defeated with his allies by Mu'izz ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām near Thanesar. He was captured and executed. His son was made viceroy of Ajmer.

Karṇa-rāja, Sōmavaṃśīya Raja of Kākaira, brother of Sōma-rāja and Raṇa-kēsarin and son of Vōpa-dēva, son of Vyāghra-rāja (Vāgha-rāja), son of Siṃha-rāja, was reigning.

1193 Kuṭb ud-Dīn Ibak captured Delhi (which Mu'izz ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām made his capital), Kālañjara, and Mahoba.

Chandra-sēna, last of the Ḍōr Rājas of Baran, is said to have perished in this year, after resisting Kuṭb ud-Dīn.

1194 Mu'izz ud-Dīn with Kuṭb ud-Dīn defeated Jayach-chandra of Kanauj and captured his stronghold at Asni.

Muḥammad ibn Bakhtiyār, the general of Kuṭb ud-Dīn, after seizing Bihar, captured Nadia and overthrew the Sēna king Lakshmaṇa-sēna, son of Ballāḷa-sēna.

Viśva-rūpa-sēna, son of Lakshmaṇa-sēna, seems to have maintained some kind of rule for at least 14 years.

Daśa-ratha, younger brother of Aśōka-valla of Sapādalaksha, was living.

1195 Kuṭb ud-Dīn suppressed a revolt in Ajmer under a brother of Pṛithvī-rāja II, invaded Gujarat, defeated the army of Bhīma-dēva II, and sacked Anhilwar.

Vīra Rāma-varman was reigning in Travancore *c.* 1195–1215.

1196 Kuṭb ud-Dīn had to retire before the army of Bhīma-dēva II into Ajmer. He with Mu'izz ud-Dīn successfully

A.D. 1196 attacked Thangir (Byana); he then invested Gwalior, which capitulated to him after about a year.

Kāma-dēva, Kādamba of Hangal, about 1196 or a little before it repelled an attack of the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II upon Hangal. A later attack by Ballāḷa was successful.

1197 Jagad-dēva succeeded his father Jassaka as king of Kashmir.

Kuṭb ud-Dīn Ībak invaded Gujarat, defeated Bhīma-dēva II, and again took Anhilwar.

1198 Rāja-rāja III, E. Gaṅga of Kaliṅga-nagara, succeeded his father Aniyaṅka-bhīma about 1198.

1200 Udaya-varman, Paramāra of Malwa, was reigning as Mahā-kumāra, in succession to his father Hariśchandra.

APPENDIX

Eras

We may here briefly note the chief of the various eras which were used in India for marking the years.

Originally no continuous era was used. If it was considered necessary to mark the secular date of an event, it was registered by the year of the reign of the local king in which it happened. Sometimes, however, a king on coming to the throne carried on the years of his predecessor into his own reign, thus creating a dynastic era. This often happened on the rise of a new dynasty, which might signalise its accession by dating all events by an era starting from the coronation of its founder. Such a mode of reckoning might continue for many centuries and spread to many countries, or it might speedily fall into disuse; its fate depended upon the fortunes of the dynasty, and other circumstances. Sometimes again a king might ordain the commencement of a new era to commemorate some glorious event in his reign. Lastly some eras were based on astronomical calculations, and others on events in religious history.

To the astronomical class belong the Graha-parivṛitti cycle of ninety years, starting theoretically from 24 B.C., which is sometimes found in the south; the Bṛihaspati cycle of sixty years, based on a twelve-years cycle of Jupiter; the Kali era, supposed to begin from 3102 B.C. (see below, Astronomy and Cosmography), and perhaps the Kollam cycle of a thousand years or era of Paraśu-rāma used in Malabar, of which the epoch is A.D. 825, and which begins each year with the entrance of the sun into Virgo in the month Āśvina. The Saptarshi or Laukika era, used in Kashmir, is based upon the theory of a revolution of Ursa Major every two thousand seven hundred years. In practice, however, it is reckoned in cycles of a hundred

years, beginning in the twenty-fifth year of each century of the Christian era; hence to equate a Saptarshi date with ours we must add to it the number of centuries from the beginning of the Christian era plus twenty-four or twenty-five. The term "Saptarshi" is used when the era is counted in full; when the date is abridged by being given in the 100-year cycle, it is called "Laukika" or "Lōka-kāla."

Of the eras based upon historical events the most important are the Vikrama and the Śaka or Śālivāhana. The Vikrama era, of which an explanation is given above, p. 42, starts from 58 B.C. (the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra according to the northern calendar; but it originally began with Kārttika). The Śaka era, which is connected with the dynasty of the Western Kshatrapas, and may have been founded by Nahapāna, begins with the bright fortnight of Chaitra, A.D. 78. The Gupta era is that which began with the accession of Chandra-gupta I in A.D. 319–320, and was continued in the Valabhī-samvat era. The Traikūṭaka, Kaḷachuri, or Chēdi era has for its first current year A.D. 248–9. The Chālukya-Vikrama era is reckoned from A.D. 1075–6, in which the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI came to the throne. A Gāṅga era was current from A.D. 590 for some time. The Harsha era marks the accession of Harsha-vardhana, its epoch being A.D. 606–7. The Virōdhikṛit era was established in A.D. 1191–2 by the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II to signalise his victory over the Yādavas. The Lakshmaṇa-sēna or Sēna era of Bengal began on October 7, 1119. The Śiva-siṃha era of Gujarat appears to have begun on March 19, 1113. The Ānanda-vikrama era of Pṛithvī-rāja II has for its initial year A.D. 33. The first current year of the Newar era is A.D. 878–9. The Bengali San begins from A.D. 593–4. Besides these there are a number of minor eras, mostly obsolete or obsolescent, which it is needless to specify.

From very ancient times the Buddhists recorded events by the years from the death of Gautama Buddha; but the system now in vogue in Ceylon and Further India, which was established in the twelfth century, wrongly starts from 544 B.C. The Jains reckon from 528 B.C., in which year their founder Mahā-vīra or Vardhamāna is said to have died.

CHAPTER III

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

1. *The Sources.*—The chief sources of Hindu law are the ancient text-books which embody the teachings of different Brahmanic schools on *dharma* or civil and religious duties. The most important of these, in the order of their relative antiquity, are the following:—the Gautama-dharma-śāstra; the Vasishṭha-dharma-śāstra, the text-book of a northern school; the Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra, belonging to the South; the Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra, a work probably composed in the third or fourth century B.C. between the Gōdāvarī and Krishṇā rivers; the Hiraṇyakēśi-dharma-sūtra, connected with the Āpastamba school, and apparently belonging to the region between the Sahyādri and the south-western coast; the Vishṇu-dharma-śāstra, which in parts is quite ancient, but was cast into its present form about the third century A.D.; the Mānava-dharma-śāstra, most famous of all, and commonly known as the Laws of Manu, which in its chief parts is not later than the second or third century A.D.; the Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, which was perhaps composed in the fourth century A.D., and is the standard code of the Mithilā school; and the Nārada-smṛiti, of about 500 A.D. Of the important code ascribed to Bṛihaspati large fragments survive; and there are numerous minor codes of varying antiquity.

It should be remembered that these works and the others that are based upon them represent only Brahmanic law, which, though usually accepted by the

"Aryan" elements of Hindu society and those sections which came under the Aryan influence, was very different from the law and customs of the other elements of the population, both civilised and barbarous. Some of these discrepancies were mentioned and deplored by the Brahmanic legists, and a few will be spoken of in the following pages; but most of them must be passed over in silence. It would be instructive if one were to compile a full account of non-Aryan laws and customs of India, for in practice these have always played an important part in the social system of Hindustan.

I.—The State and the Organisation of Society

2. *The King.*—Ancient India was divided into a vast number of states, and the centre of each state was its king. In Vedic times the most prominent attribute of the king was that of the war-lord, and the position of the Vedic king in many respects resembles that of the *basileus* or *anax* of the Homeric epics. He led the armies of his tribe to battle, presided in state over their assemblies, where his word was usually authoritative, and lived in considerable luxury with his wives, priests, and courtiers in a wooden palace or stone fortress. He was elected, at least nominally, by the assembly of freemen. The course of events ripened these powers into unmitigated absolutism. The gradual crystallisation of the larger part of society into village communities favoured the growth of local particularism; its cross-division into sharply divided castes, based upon the theory of the semi-divinity of the Brahmans, who looked to the king for the secular arm in support of their spiritual authority, strengthened his powers and gave him the rank of a vicegerent of heaven; and thus as society became more complex and developed into an infinitely elaborate organism, the vast machinery needed for maintaining it in order was centralised under the

direction of the king, assisted by ministers, a large staff of officials, and an enormous host of secret agents working with more than Machiavellian methods in his service.

We have the good fortune to possess one early book, the Kauṭilīya-artha-śāstra, which in the form of a manual of political economy and polity presents a vivid realistic picture of political and social life in ancient India, which supplements the somewhat meagre and often idealistic descriptions of the epic and other early literature.[1] Combining our information, we see that the life of the king, though surrounded by all the circumstances of Oriental pomp and luxury, was withal busy and strenuous. The day and night were each divided into eight *nāḷikās* (about 1½ hours). During the first *nāḷikā* of the day, he was expected to examine accounts of receipts and expenditure and arrangements for defence ; during the second, the business or suits of his subjects ; during the third he bathed, dined, and studied religious texts ; in the fourth he received cash in payment of revenue and attended to the appointment of officials ; in the fifth he corresponded with his councillors, and considered the reports of secret agents ; the sixth was given to amusement and prayer ; in the seventh he reviewed his troops ; and in the eighth he discussed military plans with his commander-in-chief. In the first *nāḷikā* of the night he received reports from secret agents ; in the second he bathed, supped, and studied ; in the third the signal was given for the royal *couchée*, and the fourth and fifth were spent in sleep ; in the sixth he arose, and prepared himself for the day's labour by meditation ; in the seventh he considered the working of his administration, and gave his orders to secret agents ; and in the eighth he went into court, after receiving the blessings of his priests and preceptors,

[1] It should be read in combination with the Sabhā-parva and Rāja-dharmānuśāsana-parva of the Mahā-bhārata in particular.



WOODEN TABLET FOR WRITING, FROM KHOTAN

(see page 229)

consulting with his astrologer, physician, and head cook, and reverencing with circumambulation a cow, calf, and bull.[1] The royal palace was situated in a fortress, which, according to the Kauṭilīya (ii. 3), was to be surrounded by three moats full of water, of the width of 14, 12, and 10 *daṇḍas*, and made of stone or brick. At a distance of 4 *daṇḍas* from the inner ditch was to be a rampart of pressed mud 6 *daṇḍas* in height and 12 *daṇḍas* in breadth, surmounted by brick parapets and square towers; between each tower was to be a cloister (*pratōlī*). The palace contained a series of reception-halls; in the first of these the king on rising from his bed was to be received by a bodyguard of women armed with bows,[2] in the second by chamberlains, in the third by the dwarfs, mountaineers (*Kirātas*), and hunchbacks attached to the harem, and in the fourth by his ministers, kinsmen, and warders, after which the business of the day began.

3. *Civil Service.*—Besides his ministers, the king carried on his administration through a large staff of major and minor officials, assisted by a host of spies, *agents provocateurs*, and other *instrumenta imperii*. By means of them he levied taxes, customs, excise, and tolls, periodically assayed weights and measures, regulated market-prices, and maintained police. He had a monopoly of mines, salt, elephants, timber, saffron in Kashmir, fine fabrics in the east, horses in the west, etc.; his government carried on some manufactures in State factories, constructed when necessary trade-routes and markets and otherwise created facilities for cattle-breeding and commerce, built holy places and reservoirs or aided others to build them, and exercised ownership over fishing, ferrying, and trade in vegetables. He also fulfilled most of the functions of the modern poor-law

1 Kauṭilīya, i. 19; Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, i. 326 ff.
2 Megasthenes (frag. xxvii.) speaks of a similar custom; but the Mahābhārata (Sabhā-p. v. 87) describes the bodyguard as swordsmen in red coats.

in respect of orphans and widows; and in this connection it may be noted that the Kauṭilīya (ii. 1) recommends the infliction of fines of 12 *paṇas* upon an able-bodied person of either sex who neglects to maintain a child, wife, husband, parents, or young brother or sister, upon a man who enters a religious order without providing for his wife and sons, and upon a person who without authority takes a woman into a religious order. The system of revenue-administration in a state well conducted according to ancient Indian ideas is set forth in the Kauṭilīya, which we may summarise.

A Collector-General supervised and gathered in the revenues from fortified towns, the provinces, mines, gardens, forests, quadrupeds, and traffic. In towns the sources of income were from customs, excise, fines, fees for assaying weights and measures, police, currency, fees for passports, duties on slaughterhouses and manufacture of oil and clarified butter, salt dues, gate-dues, fees for licences paid by certain trades, dues from religious foundations, special imposts, etc.; in the provinces, from agricultural produce, Crown lands, dues for religious purposes, taxes in cash, and customs levied on boats, ships, and traffic. His local representatives were the Gōpas and Sthānīkas, with their respective staffs of officials. The Gōpa had charge of five or ten villages, in which he supervised the maintenance of boundaries and the execution of gifts, sales, and mortgages, and kept registers in which were recorded the details of the land-survey and the number of inhabitants of every house according to their castes and trades, with details of the slaves, labourers, and animals therein, as well as specifications of the taxes and other imposts payable by each household and estimates of every person's income. The Sthānīka had charge of a district, in which he discharged functions similar to those of a Gōpa. Villages were classified either as exempt from taxation, or as supplying soldiers, or as paying taxes in gold, cattle,

grain, or raw material, or as furnishing free labour, or as supplying dairy produce.

A Superintendent of Customs kept offices at the gates of fortified towns, where a staff of officials registered full details as to the merchants passing in or out. When goods were brought thither, their owners publicly offered them for sale, and the tolls were levied on the basis of the prices thus realised. Weapons, armour, metals, carriages, precious stones, grains, and quadrupeds were sold outside the toll-gates free of customs; wares for marriages, gifts to the king, goods to be stored in the royal warehouses, and commodities for religious purposes and for the use of women in childbirth were admitted free of toll. The officials levied fines for infringement of regulations, *e.g.* twice the toll for coming without a passport, eight times the toll for presenting a forged passport, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇas* per bullock-load for presenting a fraudulently altered pass, 3000 *paṇas* for smuggling. Goods could not be sold in the place where they were grown or manufactured, but customs dues were not levied upon them until they were offered for sale.

A Superintendent of Frontiers policed the borders, issued sealed passports, which had to be presented later to the officials of the Superintendent of Customs, and levied a toll (1 *paṇa* on each load of single-hoofed beasts, $\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇa* per load of double-hoofed quadrupeds, and $\frac{1}{16}$ *paṇa* on each load carried on the head) upon all traffic passing the frontier.

A Superintendent of Passports issued passes to every traveller, for which the fee was 1 *māsha*.

A Superintendent of Excise controlled the sale of liquor and intoxicating drugs. Foreign liquor had to pay an excise due of 5 per cent., with an additional 5 per cent. on the sale price. Taverns were allowed only in towns, and not too near to one another, and the quantity of liquor sold in them was limited. They were

furnished with chairs and couches, and flowers and scents were provided in them.

A Superintendent of Mines supervised the working of the mines, which were a monopoly of the State, and of the trade in the goods manufactured from their products. Mines might be leased out to private persons, who paid a fixed rent and a share in the profits (from $\frac{1}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$ of the output), besides an extra 5 per cent. in cash or kind, an assaying fee of $\frac{1}{8}$ *paṇa* per cent. on the output, tolls, compensation for loss incurred, a composition fee for possible offences, special fines for infringement of rules, and 8 per cent. super-tax.

A Superintendent of Ocean-mines collected revenue from pearls, coral, shells, salt manufactured from sea-water, etc. Lessees of saltfields paid besides their rent $\frac{1}{6}$ of the salt manufactured by them, which the Superintendent sold so as to realise, in addition to its full market value, 8 per cent. and 5 per cent. in super-taxes, besides the assaying fee of $\frac{1}{8}$ *paṇa*. Only students of the Vēda, ascetics, and labourers were allowed to carry salt for their food.

A Superintendent of Agricultural Produce supervised the cultivation of Crown domains, and collected the produce in accordance with the conditions on which they were worked. He levied from lessees of these lands $\frac{1}{5}$ of the grain grown by manual irrigation, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the grain irrigated by water carried on the shoulder, $\frac{1}{3}$ of that irrigated by pumps, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of that irrigated by letting in water from streams, lakes, or wells, with an additional $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{5}$ of the total produce.

A Superintendent of Commerce fixed rates of sale of all commodities, and arranged suitable markets and other conditions for the disposal of goods belonging both to the State and to private persons. He levied an impost of $\frac{1}{16}$ on commodities sold by cubic measure, $\frac{1}{20}$ on those sold by weight, and $\frac{1}{11}$ on those vended by count.

A Superintendent of Warehouses received the accounts of agricultural produce, taxes from provincial lands, trade in agricultural produce, manufacture of clarified butter, oil, etc. He had charge of the proceeds of various taxes, viz. those paid by villages collectively, the usual royal cess of $\frac{1}{6}$ on agricultural produce, and imposts paid for provisioning the army, for religious purposes, as subsidies, as super-taxes, and for various special occasions.

A Superintendent of Navigation had charge of all traffic and transit by water. He policed the rivers and seashore, provided State boats, and collected all tolls levied at ferries, harbour dues and customs, cess on riverside and seaside villages, and $\frac{1}{6}$ of the proceeds of all fisheries.

A Superintendent of Forests had the care of the woods, which were the property of the Crown, fined persons who damaged timber, collected wood and other products of the forests, made productive works in them, and manufactured from their produce articles necessary for life or the defence of fortresses.

A Superintendent of Public Play supervised the gambling-halls, for though some writers condemned gamblers as "public thieves," this puritanic attitude was opposed to general practice and the verdict of several weighty legal authorities, who regarded gambling as a legitimate sport for the higher classes. According to the Kauṭilīya, it was to be carried on only in licensed establishments. The Superintendent of Public Play supplied gamblers with dice, charging a fee of $\frac{1}{4}$ *māsha* per pair, besides which he received 5 per cent. of the bank and certain other fees for license, hire of rooms, etc., and he was expected to enforce fair play.

A Superintendent of Courtesans had the delicate office of looking after the public women, controlling their fees, expenditure, and inheritances. Courtesans paid to the State the earnings of two days in every

month. Two of them were kept in the royal palace, with salaries of 1000 *paṇas* per annum each; they might release themselves by a payment of 24,000 *paṇas*, and their sons by half of this sum. Their property on their death went to their daughters, if they had any; if not, to the king.

The Kauṭilīya introduces us to many other officials of a paternal administration, such as the Superintendents of the Mint, of Gold, of Weights and Measures (who stamped weights, etc., levying a fee of 4 *māshas* and a daily tax of 1 *kākaṇī*), of Slaughter-houses, of State Cattle, etc., and describes in picturesque detail the methods by which a king who had exhausted all the ordinary resources of official exaction raised funds by means of "benevolences." In such cases he might take $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the agricultural produce of rich lands, or grow summer crops, upon which all persons charged with offences might be forced to labour, or levy an impost of $\frac{1}{6}$ of the forest-produce or various commodities, or $\frac{1}{2}$ of ivory and skins, or raise funds by allowing his subordinates to practise all kinds of frauds and impostures upon foolish and misguided persons, or to decoy them into wrongdoing. The picture of revenue-administration drawn in the Kauṭilīya, though in some respects perhaps theoretical, is evidently in its main outlines true to life, and depicts a society choking in the deadly grip of a grinding bureaucracy. On every branch of industry lay the dead hand of taxation; and probably the bitterest part of all was the system of super-taxation, by which the State levied additional dues of 8 per cent. (*rūpika*) on cash paid into the treasury, 5 per cent. (*vyājī*) on cash and goods in kind to cover the difference between the royal and market weights and measures, and an assaying fee of $\frac{1}{8}$ *paṇa* per cent. Nominally Hindu polity held the principle of the Roman emperor, *pastoris est tondere, non deglubere;* in practice it far overshot the mark.

4. *The Land and the Village Communities.*—The village was an organisation of extreme antiquity in India, and was based upon the bond of the family or the clan consolidated by territorial ownership. The original tie of real or assumed kinship between the various households constituting the village gradually gave way to the idea of ownership in the same territory, and thus arose the conception of the village as a political unit in the social organism, composed of a limited number of full-blooded Aryan agricultural families with their native serfs and a considerable admixture of persons of various degrees of racial purity, whose social status or caste was regulated by their blood or occupations, or by both factors. The fields attached to the village, which were usually fenced in, were the private property of the villagers; but around the village lay a common and undivided pasture-ground (600 feet wide in the smaller communities, according to Manu viii. 237 and Yājña-valkya ii. 167), on which grazed the villagers' cattle, guarded by herdsmen. In some respects the natives of each village formed a unit in the eyes of the law: certain taxes had to be paid by them collectively, and if stolen cattle could be traced to a village all the inhabitants bore joint responsibility. Each village was under the control of a headman, who was appointed by the king, though his office was usually hereditary; he regulated local police and taxation, handing over the proceeds of the latter to his superiors. The Mahā-bhārata (Sabhā-p. v. 80) speaks of five officials of the village, who were, according to the commentator, the headman, the tax-collector, the arbitrator between the latter and the peasantry, the recorder, and the witness. According to the Mahā-bhārata (Śānti-p. lxxxvii. 3 ff), there were higher officials, each superintending the headmen of ten villages, and still higher functionaries controlling groups of 20, 100, and 1000

respectively. The village headman received the jungle products of his district, of which he kept part and gave the rest to the controller of the local Ten, who in turn made a similar return to the controller of the Twenty, and so on. The controller of a Hundred was paid as stipend the income of one village, the controller of a Thousand the revenue of a small town.[1] On the administration of Gōpas and Sthānīkas see above, § 3.

Besides the villages held by the inhabitants on ordinary tenure, there were many estates given by the Crown or its representatives to priests and religious teachers (*brahma-dēya*), which were free from taxes and fines. Other classes of persons also might hold fiefs; as such the Kauṭilīya mentions Civil Servants, village accountants, physicians, veterinary surgeons, etc., and speaks of their estates as inalienable (ii. 1). The free *brahma-dēya* estates were not always inalienable; the Kauṭilīya recommends that their holders should be allowed to sell or mortgage them to other persons of similar qualifications, but to no one else, under a penalty of 3000 *paṇas*, and it prescribes the same fine for ordinary cultivators who should sell or mortgage their estates to any but cultivators, and for holders of tax-paying land who should reside elsewhere than in villages of taxpayers. It also gives some interesting rules for the management of villages, advising that no halls for sport or play should be tolerated in them, and that no religious persons except *vānaprasthas* (hermits) and congregations of local origin and no

[1] With this grouping may be compared the Kautilīya (ii. 1), which recommends that when the king founds new villages they should contain each not less than 100 and not more than 500 families of Śūdra cultivators, and their boundaries should be of one or two *krōśas*. In the midst of 800 villages should be founded a *sthānīya*, in the midst of 400 a *drōṇa-mukha*, in the midst of 200 a *khārvāṭika*, in the midst of 10 a *saṅgrahaṇa*. The commentators on the Jain scriptures say that a *drōṇa-mukha* (Prakrit *dōṇa-muha*) is a place to which there is access by land and water, a *karvata* (Prakrit *kavvada*) a mean town. Cf. also Manu vii. 114 ff.

companies except local co-operative guilds should be admitted to them.

The Kauṭilīya, with other works, often mentions Crown domains and forests. The elephant-forests were under special police, and the penalty for killing an elephant was death. On the other hand, the Mahā-bhārata, while claiming the possession of elephants for the king, makes no mention of Crown lands, and speaks of forests, mountains, rivers, and fords as ownerless, indicating that the public had free use of them and their produce, and could kill or capture any animals except elephants. The Kauṭilīya also speaks of the king's hunting-park : it was to be surrounded by a ditch, to have one entrance, and to be stocked with tigers and other wild animals deprived of their claws, so that the king could indulge in sport without danger to his royal person (ii. 2).

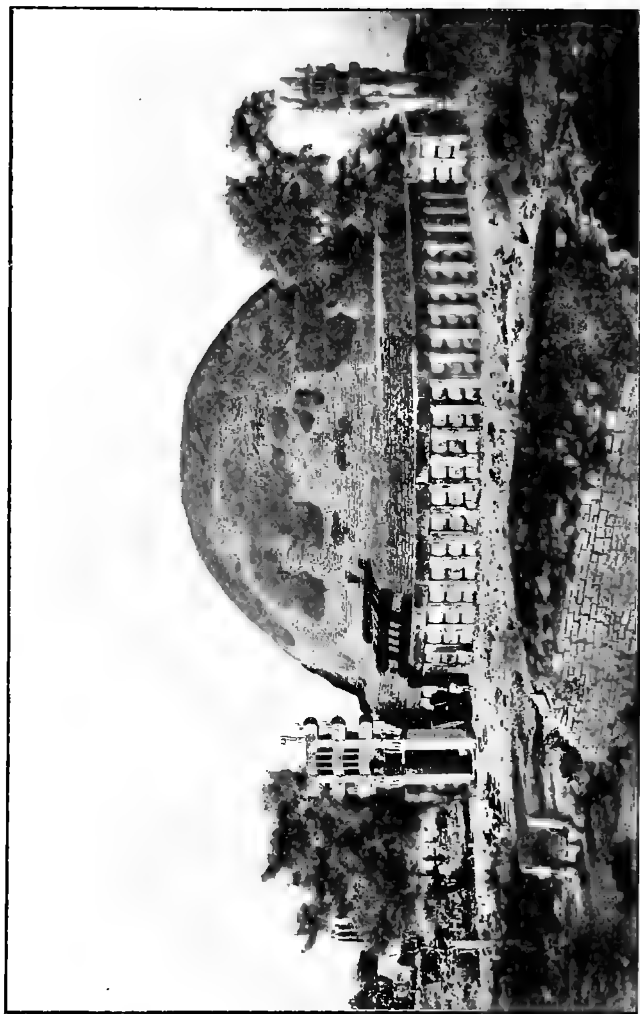
Irrigation has always been one of the chief needs of India, and the better rulers paid great attention to it. The Mahā-bhārata regards it as a king's duty to maintain reservoirs (Sabhā-p. v. 77). The great Maurya emperor Chandra-gupta had a special Irrigation Department in his Civil Service, which apportioned the supply of water according to the extent of the fields by means of canals connected by sluices, and apparently levied a water-rate. His great dam at Girnar survived until A.D. 150, and was then rebuilt by Rudra-dāman ; in 458 it again needed repairs, and was restored by the viceroy of Skanda-gupta. Chandra-gupta also had a Department of Communications, which made a trunk road 10,000 stadia in length from the North-Western frontier to Pāṭaliputra, kept the roads throughout the kingdom in proper condition, and set up sign-posts at intervals of 10 stadia.

5. *Town Administration.*—The municipal administration of Pāṭaliputra under the Maurya emperor Chandra-gupta at the end of the fourth century B.C. is

described by Megasthenes, who resided in it for some time as ambassador of Seleucus Nicator. He relates that it was under the care of a council of thirty officials, who formed six committees of five members each. These committees respectively (1) regulated the conditions of industry and handicrafts, (2) supervised foreigners in the city, attended to their needs, and when they died buried them and restored their property to their heirs, if they presented themselves; (3) registered births and deaths; (4) regulated sales, issued licenses to traders, and endeavoured to make them use just weights and measures; (5) similarly regulated manufactures; and (6) levied one-tenth of the value of goods sold, under penalty of death.

The Kauṭilīya (ii. 36) speaks of each town as being under the administration of a prefect (*nāgaraka*), under whom were *gōpas* in charge of groups of ten to fourteen families. He kept a register of all persons who came in or went out of the town and a record of the names, professions, income, expenditure, etc., of every inhabitant, and enforced the various municipal regulations, such as the sanitary byelaws, the place of residence allotted to each class of the population, the times and markets assigned to the various branches of trade, and the necessary precautions against fire, for which purpose our author recommends that all cooking should be done outside the houses, that five earthenware jars of water should stand in front of every house, and that axes, baskets, etc., should be kept in readiness.

6. *Corporations.*—There were many guilds and commercial corporations, who were often strong enough to bring about "corners" in the markets and otherwise oppress the public, unless checked by the *zabardasti* of the king's authority. They carried on manufactures, agriculture, and trade of all kinds, each member contributing a certain amount of capital, and



THE GREAT STŪPA OR TOPE OF SANCHI, FROM THE NORTH-EAST

(see page 234)

receiving a proportional share of the profits. The law-books prescribe that in the case of craftsmen the profits shall be divided between apprentice, journeyman, skilled workman, and master in the proportion 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 respectively ; a master-builder, tanner, or ditch-cutter should receive twice, a master musician 1½ times as much as the ordinary share.

II.—The Family

1. *The Household.*—The unit of Hindu society is the household, or the family in the narrower sense, comprising a patriarch, his wives, his unmarried daughters, and his sons, with their wives and descendants. This social group had in ancient times a common dwelling, and lived, ate, worshipped their gods, and enjoyed their estate in common. At the head was the patriarch, whose authority was absolute. He represented all the members of his household before the law, and claimed absolute obedience from them. The property, women, and slaves of his sons belonged to him, and some authorities even allowed him to sell, give away, or cast out his sons, though others forbade him to sell them, and restricted his right of casting them out to cases of grave offences. His power was further limited by a rule that his sons had equal rights with him over property inherited from their grandfather ; and in later law-books he was forbidden to sell the real property and slaves acquired by him without the consent of all his sons. He was allowed by some authorities to divide his own earnings among his sons ; but he could not be made to divide up the estate against his will.

With the father of the household was associated the mother, who received as much, and sometimes even more, reverence. Women *per se*, however, did not rank high in the eyes of the law, which laid down as a

principle that a woman is for all her life in tutelage, first to her father, then to her husband, and lastly to her son. A wife who bore only daughters or no children at all could be superseded by her husband marrying another woman, who then took precedence of her. Even under the most favourable conditions the nuptial bed was not one of roses for the wife. She was expected to show her devotion to her husband by the most humble and minute services, preparing all the meals of the household, eating the food left by her husband and sons, washing the kitchen vessels, smearing the floors with burnt cow-dung, and respectfully embracing her lord's feet at bedtime.

2. *Division and Inheritance of Estates.*—The estate of a household seems to have been regarded in the earlier ages as indivisible; but in course of time some kinds of property came to be treated as divisible, and gradually the whole view changed. The father could portion out the estate among his family, with certain restrictions, or empower his sons to do so. Property that he had himself acquired might be apportioned by him in various ways, and the ancient rule of giving the largest share to the eldest son tended to be superseded; but over inherited property the sons had equal authority with their father. The females of the family had originally only a right to alimony; but the law became more generous to them, the school of Yājñavalkya, for example, prescribing that when a man divides his estate he shall give to each wife the share of a son, unless she has received *strī-dhana* (below, ii. § 3), and to each daughter one-fourth of the share of a son, to defray the expenses of marriage (Yāj. ii. 115, 123, 124).

Wills were not made by the ancient Hindus. When the head of a household died, or forfeited his position by a civil death, such as was entailed by entrance into a religious order, retirement into a hermitage, expulsion from his caste, etc., the usual rule was that his estate

was at once divided.[1] If no division was made, the eldest son took the place of his father as head of the household; and if he were unfit, he might be superseded by a younger brother or kinsman. It sometimes happened that after a division had been made the brothers demanded that the estate should be consolidated again. If this was done, the members of the family (now styled *saṃsṛishṭin*) forfeited any claims to advantage that they previously had through precedence of birth.

The conditions of inheritance were regulated by religious law, which prescribed that offerings of *piṇḍas*, or meal balls, water, etc., should be offered in each family periodically to the deceased ancestors, from the great-grandfather to the father of the master of the household, on both the paternal and the maternal sides. The term *sapiṇḍa*, "associated in the meal balls," accordingly means in its wider sense agnates in general, and in the narrower sense the paternal line only from great-grandfather to great-grandson; and in the latter significance it regulates inheritance. The sons, in the order of precedence indicated below (ii. § 8), had the first claim; Śūdras were even allowed to give the share of a legitimate to an illegitimate son; and after the sons came successively the sons' sons and the sons of the latter. The lawyers were at variance as regards the claims of women to the succession. When there were no male descendants, the widow, or even the paternal grandmother, might inherit the estate (Manu, ix. 217, etc.); but such widows were subject to considerable restrictions, remaining under the control of the nearest agnates, and living under all the gloomy and humiliating conditions of Hindu widowhood. On

[1] Some authorities lay down that the division must be postponed until the widow's death, while others again restrict this provision to the case where she is still young enough to bear children. Some hold that the widow should administer the estate, and Manu (ix. 190) assents to this rule when she gives birth to a *kshētraja* son by the *niyōga* union (see below, ii. § 8).

the heirship of daughters, see below, ii. § 8. The property of an heirless Brahman reverted to local Brahman schools or teachers, or to the community. In other cases where there were no kinsmen to succeed, property fell to the king. When a foreign merchant died, the king took charge of his estate for ten years, and if no heir presented himself in that time he appropriated it.[1]

3. *Strī-dhana.*—Besides certain rights of inheritance, women enjoyed personal property, *strī-dhana*, of three kinds, viz. (1) the *śulka*, or marriage-gift of the bridegroom; (2) gifts to them from their husbands, sons, or other relations; and (3) the sum which a man on marrying a new wife who took precedence of his previous wife paid as compensation to the latter (*ādhivēdanika*). The term *strī-dhana* has been variously interpreted, and one important school of law extends it to cover all property of women; but originally at any rate it did not include gifts to a woman from non-relations, or property acquired by her through her own work, over which she could not dispose except with her husband's consent. As to the inheritance of *strī-dhana* the lawyers again are at variance.

4. *Law of Marriage.*—The normal conditions of marriage for the three higher castes were identity of caste and difference of *gōtra*; that is to say, a caste was subdivided into a number of groups or *gōtras*, each of which was supposed to be descended from a mythical or semi-mythical person, usually a Ṛishi or legendary saint, and a man normally took for wife a girl belonging to a *gōtra* other than his own but forming part of the

[1] The profound differences between the various elements of Hindu society is vividly shown by the comparison of these Brahmanic laws of succession, based upon a strict patriarchal system, with the *marumakkattāyam* rule of the Dravidians, by which inheritance follows the female line, and which is based upon promiscuity of sexual relations, as is shown by the example of the Nāyars, who until the nineteenth century were to a very large extent "free-lovers."



BUDDHIST CAVE-CHURCH AT KARLE

(*see page 232*)

same caste. This principle is still followed by the Brahmans and a large number of higher classes who have modelled their institutions upon brahmanic law. From very ancient times, however, it has been in places crossed by other rules, notably in the South, where *e.g.* the marriage of cousins has been practised since very ancient times, and is already noticed in the Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra, i. 2, 3 (probably before the fourth century B.C.).[1]

The general rule of endogamy within the caste was also often violated, for in defiance of theory men frequently took wives from other castes than their own. This "confusion of caste" caused great searchings of heart at all times to the Brahman lawyers, and led to a great variety of opinions. As a rule the marriage of a woman to a man lower in caste than herself was strongly reprobated; but the reverse kind of union was generally tolerated, especially when the bride belonged to a caste only one degree inferior to that of the bridegroom. In some of the early law-books and the Mahā-bhārata men of the three higher castes are forbidden to marry a Śūdra woman. The union of Brahmans with Kshatriya women seems to have been recognised very early, and may have once been very common. But as the caste-system crystallised itself in course of time, all these cross-alliances came to be regarded as irregular, and the Brahman lawyers in their speculations on the origin of social institutions found in them a convenient explanation of the rise of the mixed castes.

Monogamy, alleviated by concubinage, seems to have been the general practice in Vedic times; but aristocratic families were often polygamous and unashamed, and the example spread. The warrior heroes

[1] To take a modern instance, the important Kōmaṭi or merchant caste of Telingana regard marriage with the daughters of maternal uncles as a pillar of society.

of the Mahā-bhārata have several wives, one being the *mahishī* or senior queen, while Brahmans enjoy the same latitude, though of the several wives permitted to a Brahman only one can rank as his *dharma-patnī* or consort in religious rites, and she must be a Brahman; and we find in the epic a rule that the first and chief wife should be of her husband's rank, but may be supplemented by other wives from the lower castes in due succession, so that a Śūdra can only have one consort, by the side of which stands a prohibition of Śūdra women to men of the three higher castes. On the other hand, cases are mentioned in early books where men married several wives of the same caste; when this happened, the eldest wife ranked as the "consort in religion," *dharma-patnī*. There is an echo of the ancient monogamous spirit in the rule of Āpastamba (ii. 11, 12) that if a man has a *dharma-patnī* and she has born him a son, he must refrain from further indulgence in matrimony.

The bride was expected to be a virgin.[1] There is no authority, even in the Vēdas, that countenances the second marriage of a widow;[2] it is only tolerated by the ancient codes in exceptional cases, and such unions were contracted without formal rites. On the other hand, the Vedic age did not practise child-marriage; the Vedic bride was adult. But for some obscure reason—possibly because the custom of taking wives

[1] In spite of their own rules, the Brahmans have sometimes shown themselves very adaptable in this and kindred matters. Among the Nāyars of Southern India, as among many other kindred races living under the law of *marumakkattāyam* or inheritance through the female line, the utmost looseness in sexual relations prevailed until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and among the royal and noble classes the local Nambudri Brahmans exercised a sort of *jus primae noctis* over virgins, similar to that of the notorious Pushtimārgīya priests in recent times in Bombay. On a similar practice in Burma under Indian influences, see *Journal Asiatique*, 1912, p. 123 ff.

[2] Except in the case of the levirate marriage; see below, ii. § 8. The Atharva-vēda (ix. 5, 27–28) speaks of a second marriage of a widow, but obscurely.

from lower castes led to a scarcity of suitors for damsels of higher rank, and made fathers anxious to secure husbands for their daughters on the earliest possible occasion—the custom of marrying children arose very early, probably in the first instance among the highest castes, and gradually spread. In consequence the child-bride remained after the marriage-rites in her father's house until puberty. Unmarried girls, after two months from the beginning of puberty—a period later extended to three years—had a theoretical right to choose their own husbands, at the cost of some legal and social disadvantages; in the case of Kshatriyas this practice of *svayaṃvara* seems to have been often exercised.

5. *Modes of Marriage.*—Eight modes of marriage are recognised by Hindu law. These are (1) *rākshasa* or *kshātra vivāha*, where the bride is carried off by force; (2) *paiśācha*, a secret elopement; (3) *gāndharva*, a secret informal union by copulation; (4) *āsura*, acquirement by purchase; (5) *brāhma*, where the bride is freely given to a worthy bridegroom with due ceremony; (6) *daiva*, where she is married to a priest; (7) *ārsha*, in which the bride's father, in giving her away, receives from the bridegroom a formal gift of a pair of oxen; and (8) *kāya* or *prājāpatya*, in which the proposal comes from the side of the bridegroom. In the law-books the first three of these modes are recognised as peculiarly appropriate to Kshatriyas, and the fourth is allowed only to Vaiśyas and Śūdras, though it has some countenance in the Vēdas, and the payment of a *śulka* or marriage-price by the bridegroom, which is even now often practised among higher castes in some parts of India, is expressly described by some authorities as a purchase. The remaining four modes were regarded as particularly suitable to Brahmans, and possibly the *brāhma* form was originally special to their caste. The rites with

which the more formal modes of marriage were attended are described below in Chapter IV., I. § 15; many of them are very ancient, and may be traced back to the earliest ages of Indo-germanic unity.

6. *Polyandry.*—The custom of polyandry, in which a woman is taken as the common wife of a number of brothers or similar group, has always prevailed in some parts of India, notably the Dravidian south and certain regions of the Himalaya, and was known to the early legists. A classical instance is given by the Mahābhārata, of which the heroes, the five Pāṇḍava brethren, have a common wife, and assert polyandry to be the rule of their family (Ādi-parva, cxcvii. 25, 29). The practice was always strongly opposed by the ancient Brahmans; but even now it exists among the Brahmans, Rajputs, and Śūdras in Kumaon, not to speak of its prevalence in several districts of the Himalaya and Dekhan, and there is no evidence that it was ever limited to the races outside the Aryan pale.

7. *Connubial Discipline.*—As marriage among the Hindus was a sacrament, it could not be lightly dissolved in societies that modelled their institutions upon the brahmanic norm, though the bond was probably looser in the outlying regions that were influenced by the Dravidians and other non-Aryan races, among whom divorce by mutual consent has always been common. Brahmanic law regards such a dissolution of matrimony with abhorrence. Only the husband had the right to pronounce a divorce, and, as a rule, he only enforced it when the wife was unchaste; even in that case some authorities prescribe other penalties, such as degradation to menial offices or severe religious penances. In aggravated cases he could inflict death; and punitive repudiation was usually accompanied by expulsion from caste, implying civil death. For less serious offences the husband's *patria potestas* provided appropriate chastisement: thus

disobedience or unmannerly conduct in a wife might be punished by a thrashing, or confiscation of her property, or even expulsion from the house for three months on alimony, drunkenness or loose behaviour by a fine. If a woman had the misfortune to be childless, or to bear only daughters, her husband might marry another wife, who then might take precedence; but the former wife was entitled to remain in his house, and some authorities demanded for her an extra dotation.

8. *Sonship.*—The possession of a son to carry on the household worship is a vital necessity for a Hindu. In popular belief, corroborated by brahmanic texts, the sonless man goes to hell, and his ancestors' ghosts, in the absence of a descendant who can feed them with the *piṇḍas* at the rites in their honour, are doomed to eternal hunger and misery. Consequently no effort was spared to obtain this blessing; and when natural means proved unavailing, legal fictions were employed. The most obvious of such expedients was *niyōga*, the deputation of the husband's conjugal rights to his brother, or a kinsman or a Brahman, either after his death or even before it. The custom of *niyōga* was generally disapproved by the Brahmans, whose law-books either surrounded it with severe restrictions or altogether ruled it out. It was obviously a relic of prehistoric savagery, and though it has the authority of the epics, and was even recognised in medieval times as a proper expedient by which a decrepit king might ensure a successor before his death, it has fallen into desuetude, and only survives in the mitigated form of a levirate marriage, by which a childless widow is taken by her husband's brother (see above, ii. § 4).

Another expedient was adoption. Adopted sons were classified into "given" or *dattaka* (surrendered while still in tutelage by their natural to their adoptive parents), "factitious" or *kṛitrima* (adopted in their

manhood), "self-surrendered" (giving themselves into adoption), foundlings, and purchased sons. As a rule *dattakas* were recognised as legitimate sons, ranking next to lawfully begotten heirs, though some acknowledged only the latter and heiress-daughters or their sons in the first rank of inheritance, while others admitted all kinds of adoptive sons.

But the classification of sonship did not end here. A *sahōḍha*, or son conceived before wedlock and born after marriage, was regarded as the child of its mother's husband, irrespective of its real origin ; so likewise was a *gūḍhaja* or son conceived and born of an adulterous connection after wedlock. A *kānīna* or son born by a woman before wedlock was regarded in part as belonging to his mother's father, and in part to her husband. Lastly we find a place allowed to the *paunarbhava* or son of a *punarbhū*, a term variously applied to a widow contracting a levirate-marriage with a kinsman of her husband, or to a wife who has lived in irregular relations with a man before or after union with her one and only lawful husband, and may have subsequently returned to the latter. Thus there arises a series consisting of (1) the *aurasa* or lawfully begotten son of the body, (2) the *kshētraja* or son born of *niyōga*, (3) the son of an heiress-daughter, (4) the *paunarbhava*, (5) the *kānīna*, (6) the *sahōḍha*, (7) the *gūḍhaja*, and (8) the adoptive sons, in which each member has a claim to inheritance excluding those below him ; but the order varies in different law-books.

9. *Widowhood.*—The position of a Hindu widow has always been one of hardship and humiliation. A second marriage was in most cases impossible, except at the cost of social death. From the tutelage of her dead husband she passed into that of her sons, if they were grown up ; failing them, she became dependent upon her husband's nearest kinsmen. Her life was expected to be one of rigorous austerity. She was forbidden to

eat more than one meal daily, and the luxury of a bed or perfumes was denied to her. Strict religious exercises were enjoined upon her: she was to make daily offering to her husband's memory, go on pilgrimages, and observe various vows and fasts. The custom of burning widows on their husbands' pyres, though hardly ever mentioned in Vedic books, is probably a relic of prehistoric barbarism preserved in aristocratic Kshatriya families, which the Brahmans for a time discountenanced, and then, being unable to suppress it, finally sanctified with their full approbation. It has little authority from the examples of the heroines of the Mahā-bhārata, and none from the Rāmāyaṇa; but later it spread widely, and in historical times down to the nineteenth century was very common. It was, however, always optional, and a widow who was pregnant or had a young child to rear was not allowed to perform it.

III.—Civic Life

1. *Religious Pains and Penalties.*—As is natural in a society dominated by the religious spirit, there is a great deal of confusion in Hindu law-books between religious and secular law. But both departments pay great attention to caste and to intention in estimating the degree of culpability of an offence.

The penances for acts regarded as breaches of religious law were manifold, and only a few need be described here. A culprit condemned to the *kṛichchhra* mortification was allowed for three days unflavoured food in the mornings only; during the next three days he might eat it in the evenings only; in the next three days he was allowed only food given unasked; and for the last three days he had to fast entirely. In the *atikṛichchhra* only one mouthful was permitted for each meal, and in the *kṛichchhrātikṛichchra* he was expected to live on the exiguous nourishment of water. The sinner who purged

himself by the *chāndrāyaṇa* usually began by allowing himself fifteen mouthfuls of food the size of a peacock's egg on the day of full moon, and diminished this amount by one mouthful daily until on the day of new moon he had but one; then he increased his daily rations in the same proportion for the next fortnight. For the *sāntapana* he enjoyed for one day the *pañcha-gavya*, consisting of the dung and urine of cows, fresh milk, sour milk, and liquid butter, with a decoction of *kuśa* grass, and on the next day held a fast; and for the *parāka* he went without nourishment of any kind for twelve days.

The contumacious sinner who refused to perform his penances was liable to be expelled from his caste—an awful penalty, that usually entailed social and moral death, for thenceforth any of his former caste-brethren who dared to speak to him were condemned to penances, and those who maintained relations with him for a year were themselves cast out. With these social disabilities he suffered likewise the loss of all rights of inheritance that he had previously possessed. To perform the ceremony of expulsion his kinsmen and preceptors assembled on an unlucky day, and performed funeral rites, to signify his spiritual death. After this a slave or serving-man or kinsman of base birth brought from a refuse-heap a broken jar or unclean plate, filled it with water from the pitcher of a slave-woman, and overturned it with his left foot. The kinsmen, loosening their hair, then touched him. The sinner's name was proclaimed, and it was announced that the libation was for him, and he was henceforth to be deprived of water. The company then went away, turning their left towards the place of the rite, and bathed before going home. If, however, the culprit now submitted himself, he might be restored to his caste, by a ceremony of corresponding rites to indicate his spiritual regeneration.

2. *Secular Offences and Penalties.*—As we have re-

marked above, the Hindu mind never arrived at a clear distinction between secular and religious doings and misdoings, and hence some offences which we should expect to be punished by the secular arm are in Hindu law visited with religious penances, and sometimes with both forms of chastisement. But it will be convenient here to review the chief forms of secular penalties which the law imposed upon offences that we are accustomed to regard as strictly secular, such as offences against the person or property and civil wrongs.

In the Vedic age, society had passed beyond the primitive order in which homicide was necessarily followed by an endless blood-feud. The general rule, as with the Homeric Greeks, was to accept a substantial payment in settlement of the blood-debt, namely 100 cows. In accordance with the growing tendency to graduate culpability in accordance with the caste of the persons affected, the law-book of Baudhāyana (i. 19, 1) refines on this principle by demanding 1000 cows for the slaughter of a Kshatriya, 100 for a Vaiśya, and 10 for a Śūdra, with a bull to be given to the king. In early times the cows were of course given to the aggrieved family, and the bull in some cases went to the Brahman preceptor who laid down the law; but the later codes of Yājñavalkya and Manu boldly demand the cows for the Brahmans. The murder of a Brahman, which in some of the older law-books ranks as a crime of the second magnitude only, came to be regarded with increasing horror as one of the most deadly of sins, equalled in heinousness only by the slaughter of a cow or incest. The code of Baudhāyana (i. 18 f.) lays down that if a Brahman is slain by a man of lower caste, the culprit shall be put to death and his property confiscated; if a Brahman slays another Brahman, he is to be branded and banished; and if a Brahman kills a man of lower caste, he shall compound for the offence by a fine. Others, however, prescribe death with confiscation

of goods for all murders. The forms of capital punishment, which were not restricted to the above mentioned crimes, were varied with picturesque ingenuity, and included roasting alive, drowning, trampling by elephants, devouring by dogs, cutting into pieces, impalement, etc.

When missing property could be traced to a village, but was not found there, the villagers, if unable to prove that it had been carried further, were liable to make restitution; and if then it could not be discovered, the king or his local representatives, as being responsible for the police, were liable for it. Property recovered from thieves had to be claimed by the owners within a year, otherwise it fell to the royal treasury. Theft on a large scale was usually punished with death, lesser offences of the kind were visited with fines or mutilation, such as cutting off the hands and feet. As usual, however, the penalties were graduated according to caste. Although some general statements occur according to which the extent of culpability is in direct proportion to the height of the sinner's rank, in practice we find the reverse principle applied; for example, it was a deadly sin to steal the gold of a Brahman, but he might deprive his Śūdra slave of his property with impunity. Brahmans in general enjoyed immunity from capital punishment, and theoretically from mutilation also; but the latter privilege was not always realised in practice. A curious old law is mentioned which allowed a repentant thief to escape the full penalty of his crime if he came with dishevelled hair before the king and offered him a club, inviting him to strike him down.

A Brahman who committed adultery was liable to a fine of 500 *paṇas;* for the crime of rape he was liable to a penalty of 1000 *paṇas.* For a similar offence a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya had to pay the same or a larger sum, besides which the Vaiśya might be

imprisoned, and the Kshatriya's hair might be cut off, and urine poured over his head; if a Śūdra debauched the wife of a man of the higher castes, his property was confiscated and his genitals were cut off, and if the woman was kept in a harem he was put to death. The adulteress was only executed in exceptional cases; usually her husband or family inflicted upon her such chastisement as seemed to fit the case.

For contempt towards a Brahman a Kshatriya was liable to a fine of 100 *paṇas*, for overt insult 200 *paṇas*; and a Vaiśya's liability was $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as that of a Kshatriya. On the other hand, a Brahman might insult a Kshatriya at the cost of 50 *paṇas*, and a Vaiśya for 25, while he could flout a Śūdra with impunity. Śūdras were taught humility towards the higher orders by a series of brutally severe regulations. If he defamed a virtuous man of the three higher castes, a Śūdra was to have his tongue cut out; if he expressed contempt for his caste or name, a red-hot iron was to be thrust into his mouth; if he learned to recite the Vēdas, he was to be cut in two. The authority of each caste over those below it was enforced by various rules, *e.g.* that one who sat on the same bench as a man of higher rank was to be branded on the breech, that if one spat at a person of superior caste his lips should be cut off, etc. Here, as in many other penalties of Hindu law, the punishments are symbolical, and are applied to the offending parts of the body.

3. *Courts of Justice.*—The king, being in Hindu law the fountain-head of justice, was also its chief administrator. According to some legists, he was expected to conduct in person trials for the "ten crimes"—viz. disobedience to the royal commands, murder of women, breach of caste-divisions, adultery, theft, criminal pregnancy, defamation, aggravated insult, injury to property, and causing abortion—as well as a large class of offences technically called *chhalas*, mostly

directed against the royal dignity, and twenty-two *padas* by which the person or commonwealth suffered detriment, and in such cases he could take the initiative without waiting for an accuser. This was perhaps a counsel of perfection not often realised in practice, at least in larger and more advanced states; but it is clear that the judicial duties of the king were regarded very seriously. The law-books advise that he should spend from a quarter to a half of each day in presiding over his tribunal in the royal castle, supported by learned Brahmans, the royal chaplain, the Chief Justice and other judges, ministers, elders, representatives of the trading classes, and a secretary. Besides this central court, others were held under the royal authority, both stationary and itinerant. Next to the king was the Chief Justice (*prāḍ-vivāka*, *dharmādhyaksha*, or *sabhā-pati*), who conducted the proceedings, and in the king's absence held his signet. He was associated with a board of judges, who, like him, were of the three upper castes, and preferably Brahmans, and who sometimes acted as assessors in his court, and sometimes formed separate tribunals subordinate to his jurisdiction. The Bṛihaspati-smṛiti mentions four kinds of tribunals, viz. stationary (in towns or villages), movable, courts held under the warrant of the royal signet in the king's absence, and commissions under the presidency of the king.

In the villages the local headman, usually a hereditary officer, maintained order and dispensed justice in a more or less primitive manner, as in modern times. As a rule he could impose minor penalties, such as fines; and evidence is not wanting that the office was sometimes remunerative to the holder. The local council—corresponding to the modern *panch* or *panchāyat*, a board of five or more members—was also a fairly effective means of preserving law and order.

Besides these courts, the various corporations, trade-guilds, and families into which society was divided



Temple of Kandarya Mahā-dēva at Khajuraho

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exercised a more or less effective jurisdiction over their members. A case might be carried in appeal from the tribunal of the family to that of the guild, thence to a local court, thence to the royal judges, and from them to the king in person; but this must have occurred seldom. The tribunals of the guilds, as a rule, had very considerable authority, and were constituted like regular courts, under the guidance of a president with three or five coadjutors; but their jurisdiction, like that of family courts and arbitrators, was probably restricted to civil law.

The passion for litigation in ancient times was perhaps as much a foible of the Hindus as in these days. The law endeavoured to discourage it to some extent by providing for arbitration in certain classes of civil actions. The proceedings in the case of disputes over boundaries—always a fertile source of trouble in India—were interesting. The arbitrators, persons supposed to have a good knowledge of the matter at issue, and trusted by both parties, began their work by fasting, after which they put on their heads crowns of red flowers, dressed themselves in red cloaks, and strewed earth on their heads; they then solemnly marked the boundary, and their decision was accepted, if no misfortune befell them within a short time from the ceremony.

4. *Legal Procedure.*—The course of the proceedings before a court of law usually began by the plaintiff lodging a plaint with the judge, who, if satisfied that a *primâ facie* case was made out, summoned the defendant to appear;[1] and at this stage the plaintiff might apply for the provisional attachment of the defendant's person, himself paying the expenses of the bailiff's maintenance. The trial began with the reading of a document of accusation, supported by

[1] In certain cases the king instituted proceedings without an accuser; see above, iii. § 3.

witnesses, and followed by the reading of a written answer, also with attestations;[1] then came the hearing of the evidence, chiefly of witnesses, as well as that afforded by documents, oaths, and ordeals, etc. In civil cases the qualifications of witnesses were severely scrutinised; but in criminal proceedings any person was admitted to give evidence, and the accuser was not allowed to have a legal representative. In some cases of crime a witness was not necessary for conviction, as strong circumstantial evidence was enough. Witnesses might be put upon their oath, and examined before a fire and a jar of water, in the presence of the king, Brahmans, and the images of gods; and one authority prescribes that they shall take off their shoes and turbans and hold in their right hands a piece of gold, sacred grass, or cowdung. After due hearing judgment was pronounced, and a copy of a summary of the pleadings of both sides, with the verdict, the subscription of the king or judges, and the impression of the royal seal, was given to the successful party. Court-fees, paid by the winning party, with fines and costs, were levied for the benefit of the judges and king. In civil cases, if the losing party failed to comply with the verdict, his opponent might enforce compliance by imprisoning him, beating him, and compelling him to labour in his service, provided that such work was not discreditable, and was in accordance with their previous contract. If the loser were unable to do such labour, he might be kept in durance, unless he were a Brahman or a man of high standing; but he could obtain temporary release at night, during mealtimes, and for occasional necessities by giving bail. A creditor might enforce the legal payment of debts by the process well known in modern times by the name of *dharaṇa*, sitting and fasting in front of the

[1] At this point one or both parties might register a wager (*paṇa*) to pay a certain sum if defeated. The money fell to the king or judges.

debtor's house until he died himself and brought the guilt of homicide upon the debtor's head; or he might seize or kill the wife, sons, or cattle of the debtor, or even his own.

5. *Oaths and Ordeals.*—The oath, in which one of the parties in a legal contest endeavours to prove the truth of his plea by invoking upon his own head or the heads of his family the curse of the gods if he should speak falsely, and the ordeal, in which, for the same purpose, he undertakes a task so painful or difficult that he cannot be expected to accomplish it with ease except by the direct interposition of Heaven, are features of primitive law which naturally were not wanting in ancient India. Fire-ordeals, in which accused persons stand unharmed in the fire or walk through it, or hold a red-hot axe, are mentioned in very early literature. A picturesque variety of ordeals is enumerated in the law-books, viz. (1) that of the balance, in which a man is weighed twice, and is acquitted if on the second occasion his weight is less than on the first; (2) that of the fire, when the man must carry a red-hot iron ball some distance in his hand, which, however, may be wrapped in leaves; (3) that of the water, where he must stay under water until a swift runner has brought back an arrow discharged at the moment of his submersion; (4) that of the poison, which is administered to him, and is expected to harm him only if he is guilty; (5) that of the holy water, or water in which an idol has been bathed, and of which he is then made to drink; (6) that of the rice-grains, where hallowed grains of unhusked rice are chewed by him and spat out, and his guilt is shown if traces of blood then appear upon them; (7) that of the hot coin, which must be picked out with the hand from a pot of boiling liquid; (8) that of the red-hot ploughshare, which he must lick with his tongue; and (9) that of the lot, in which

two lots, representing Right (*dharma*) and Wrong (*adharma*), were placed in a jar, and the person who drew the former was judged to be justified of the gods.

Oaths were naturally of many forms, but the underlying idea was the same in all, the imprecation of the divine wrath upon the speaker or his near kin if he speak falsely; and the hand of Heaven was seen if any misfortune befell him, especially if it happened within a few days later. Sometimes the speaker, in token of his imprecation, took hold of the feet of a Brahman, or of his own wife or son; sometimes he held in his hand symbolic objects (gold, silver, earth, stalks of *dūrvā* grass, sesam, etc.); and sometimes he combined ordeal with oath by putting his hand into fire or water.

6. *Formalities of Contracts and Gifts.*—There was always a considerable number of slaves in ancient India, although they were not so numerous as to be commercially exploited in masses, as was done in Rome and Greece. Most of these serfs were descendants of the aboriginal tribes that had been conquered by the Aryans. But any freeman could surrender himself to slavery by pronouncing the formula *tavāham,* "I am thine." A slave might be manumitted by his owner pouring over his head a pot of water, with unhusked grain and flowers, and thrice declaring him to be free, after which the pot was thrown upon the ground and broken. This custom of pouring out water was observed in all ceremonies of accompanying the transfer of property; for instance, it took place when land was sold, and when a father handed over his daughter to her husband.

For the preparation of private legal documents detailed instructions are given in the law-books; but unfortunately no very ancient specimen of the attorney's art have survived. Of official or royal docu-

ments, however, we possess very large quantities. They are chiefly deeds of gift (*śāsanas*) making over a village or estate to certain persons or families, especially Brahmans. As a rule they are incised on copper plates; sometimes they were written on cotton sheets, which naturally have not been preserved. In most cases, agreeably to the prescription of the law-books, these documents specify the following details: (1) the place where they were drawn up, (2) the donor and his ancestors (usually at least the father and grandfather), (3) the estate granted and its site, (4) the witnesses, (5) the purpose of the grant, (6) the exact bounds of the estate, (7) the recipient, (8) duration of the grant, (9) inheritance thereof, (10) inalienability thereof, (11) immunity from taxation, etc., (12) testification to future rulers, (13) corroborations from law-books, (14) the king's signature, (15) the composer of the document, (16) the date. Many of these deeds are in part metrical, and the poetry is often good. The seals bear as device the figure of an animal; thus the Gupta dynasty affected as its device the sacred kite Garuḍa, the Chālukyas the boar of Vishṇu, the Eastern Gaṅgas the bull of Śiva. The thirteenth article frequently included maledictions upon any who should wrongfully appropriate the endowment. These curses comprehensively embrace the future births of the malefactor. Sometimes they express the view that he will be reborn as the issue of an unnatural union between a woman and an ass; and in a few cases officials with more regard for principle than for decency added to the deed an indescribable illustration of this circumstance to point the moral.

7. *Finance.*—As in other countries, the earliest standard of value was in cows; thus, for example, the blood-price of Vedic society (below, iii. § 2). But in quite early times a metal currency seems to have existed; the Ṛig-vēda (viii. 67, 2) speaks of *manā*,

which may be the Semitic *maneh* (*μνᾶ*), and Manu uses the *kārshāpaṇa* in estimating penalties. Interest was payable in kind or in money. The Mahā-bhārata (Sabhā-p. v. 78) mentions 1 per cent. (1/4 in some editions) per month as an ideal rate at which a king should lend grain to farmers; but in practice it was higher. Manu speaks of 1 1/4 per cent. monthly, and even 5 per cent. per month when the debtor belonged to the lowest caste or offered bad security, though Brahmans were liable to not more than 2 per cent., and were not obliged to give security (viii. 140, 152). Where the risk was especially high, the rate of interest was proportionately heavy. The Nasik inscriptions speak of an interest of 100 *kāhāpaṇas* per 2000, and of 75 per 1000, that is to say, 60 and 90 per cent. respectively (*Archæological Survey of Western India*, iv. 101 ff.). Manu endeavours to discourage the ancient trade of moneylending by forbidding the accumulation of interest over more than a year, and by other regulations, but permits a bill to be renewed by adding arrears of interest to the original capital (viii. 153, 155). As in medieval Europe, the trade of money-lending was thought to be immoral, and Brahmans were forbidden to practise it (Nārada-smṛiti, i. 111); even within the lawful limits mentioned above it was deemed degrading for Brahmans and Kshatriyas to levy interest.

IV.—The Four Stages

It remains to notice the four stages (or *āśramas*) into which the Brahmanic law-books divide the life of men of the four castes.

With the ceremony of *upanayana*, which will be described below, a Brahman boy entered upon his noviciate of study, during which he was expected to live a life of strict chastity and simplicity, ministering to his preceptor, for whom he daily begged alms, fed the fires, and performed divers duties. The length of the



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noviciate varied. Some authorities prescribe twelve years as the period necessary to learn each Vēda, so that in theory the undergraduate stage might last from twelve to forty-eight years; but in practice it was usually less, except when the student devoted himself permanently to study and attendance upon his teacher. His studies ended, the student took a bath, and entered upon the life of a householder or *grihastha*, the first duty of which was marriage. When he began to grow old, the householder resigned the care of his family to his son, and withdrew into the forests as a *vānaprastha*, sometimes accompanied by his wife, and there lived either in a solitary hermitage or in association with some other devotees, practising ascetic rites, eating only wild fruits, vegetables, and roots, and wearing only skins or bark of trees. In his last stage he became a wandering beggar, commonly called *bhikshu*, *sannyāsin*, *parivrājaka*, or *yati*. His hair was shorn; his dress was a loin-cloth; his whole possessions were a staff made of three rods (symbolising control of speech, mind, and body), a bowl, and a water-jar, with which he wandered about begging for the plainest food from door to door, remaining never more than a short time in one place, except during the rainy season, and with calm indifference waiting for death to release his soul from its last prison of bodily incarnation.

The details of this scheme seem rather to savour of theory. The four stages have never been generally observed. A considerable number of Brahmans, and even of Kshatriyas, went through the noviciate of study, and a few Brahmans still do so; and the condition of the householder among most of the higher castes is usually regarded in a religious light, and often ends in withdrawal into the ascetic life. But the distinction between the settled hermit or *vānaprastha* and the vagabond *bhikshu* seems arbitrary, and rests, as far as we know, upon no basis of real fact.

V.—Caste [1]

A somewhat late hymn of the Ṛig-vēda, the famous Purusha-sūkta (x. 90) describes the birth of the four classes of the Aryan community from Purusha, the ideal "Man" or World-spirit, who was perhaps typified in human sacrifice. From His head arose Brahmans, the thinkers, priests, and poets; from His arms Kshatriyas or Rājanyas, the nobles and warriors; from His thighs Vaiśyas, the farmers and traders; from His feet Śūdras, the serfs and slaves. Here we have the earliest exposition of the Brahmans' theory of caste; and it may be asked how far this theory corresponds with the real condition of the society portrayed in the Ṛig-vēda. Actually we find that the four sections—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras—were not separated by any rigid line of racial demarcation; they were rather social divisions, fortified by a somewhat fluid religious sanction that was by no means universally recognised, and their boundaries were constantly fluctuating. At no time were the sections strictly endogamous, or limited to the functions theoretically assigned to them. But in a rough way the classification of the Purusha-sūkta seems to fit the facts on the whole; its chief defect is that it is based on a theory of racial difference and divine sanction that can hardly be justified.

The next passage in which the Brahman doctrine of caste is formulated is the famous section of the Mānava-dharma-śāstra (x. 8 ff.), which gives a traditional classification and derivation of the numerous castes into which society within the Brahmanic pale had crystallised. Here "Manu," accepting the doctrine of the Purusha-sūkta as the foundation of his creed, derives the origin of all the other castes from crossings

[1] The word *caste* is derived apparently through the Portuguese *casta* from the Latin *castus*, "pure."

between members of the four primary orders. These mixed castes are of two kinds: either they are natural (*anulōma*, literally "along the hair," or, as we might say, "along the grain"), or they are unnatural (*pratilōma*, "against the hair," or in our idiom, "against the grain"). The offspring of a Brahman father and a Vaiśya mother, according to "Manu," is an Ambashṭha, whose profession is that of a barber and physician; the son of a Brahman father and Śūdra mother is a Nishāda, or Pāraśava, a fisherman; of a Kshatriya father and Śūdra mother, an Ugra, or fierce warrior. These unions are *anulōma*, natural. The offspring of a Kshatriya father and Brahman mother is a Sūta or charioteer; of a Vaiśya father and Brahman mother, a Vaidēha or native of Vidēha (Northern Bihar); of a Vaiśya father and Kshatriya mother, a Māgadha, or herald, literally a man of Magadha or Southern Bihar; of a Śūdra father and Brahman mother, a Chāṇḍāla, a scavenger and common executioner, one of the most degraded orders; of a Śūdra father and Kshatriya mother, an Āyōgava, or carpenter. All these are *pratilōma* or unnatural unions, and were regarded by the orthodox with varying degrees of prejudice, according to the number of stages separating the social status of the parents. Then follows in "Manu" a swarm of sub-castes, which are theoretically derived from various crossings between the above-mentioned orders.

In spite of its *à priori* character, this classification is not wholly untrue to life. It shows the existence at an early time of a large number of castes, of which each had for its chief common characteristic a certain trade or profession—functional castes, like many which are flourishing at the present day—and it derives them from certain left-handed unions. Now it is a fact that men born from some kinds of irregular connections often tend to drift into common trades. The Eurasians of India are largely clerks; the Shāgird-peshas of

Bengal, a modern caste born of left-handed unions between men of the higher strata and maidservants of the lower clean castes, are servants by trade; and the Cape boys of South Africa are mostly drivers. But "Manu" errs, in the true pandit's way, by assuming omniscience and explaining every phase of caste—functional, tribal, and other groups—by his theory of crossings. Actually we find at the present day, as no doubt existed in the past, a bewildering variety of castes of every possible kind of origin. Sir Herbert H. Risley enumerates the following classes:—(1) a tribal type of caste, where a tribe has gradually assumed the character of a caste, more or less assimilating its own traditions and practices to those of Hindu orthodoxy; (2) a functional type, where all the members of the caste, at any rate in theory, have a common occupation; (3) a sectarian type, where religious fraternities have organised their social arrangements on the same lines as ordinary castes; (4) a type formed by cross-breeding, which tends to coincide with the second class, as in the case of the Shāgird-peshas; (5) a national type, where a nation or section of a nation has an organisation on the lines of a caste, like the Hindus and the Buddhists among the Newars of Nepal; (6) a type formed by migration, where a section of a caste in a new home has developed into a new caste; (7) a type of castes differentiated from a parent community by their adopting new practices, such as the sections which, after allowing for centuries the marriage of their widows, have suddenly decided to withdraw their licence, and have thereby raised themselves, in their own estimation, above the level of the parent body. It would baffle the wisdom of Solomon to find a common denominator for all these varieties of religious-social organisation, most of which, as far as can be seen, represent the continuation of processes that have been going on in India since very early times. Sir H. Risley

attempts a definition. "A caste," he says, "may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families, bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with a specific occupation ; claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine ; professing to follow the same calling ; and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community. A caste is almost invariably endogamous in the sense that a member of the large circle denoted by the common name may not marry outside that circle ; but within this circle there are usually a number of smaller circles, each of which is also endogamous."[1]

The origin of caste in India remains a mystery, except to the writers on the subject, each of whom has a different key to the puzzle. As has been suggested above (p. 10), it may have crystallized out in the Madhyadēśa, possibly following the lines of an earlier social division. It may be there that the Aryan community, wishing to preserve its own traditions and to save itself from being engulfed in the mass of the native races by further admixture with their blood, closed its doors upon them for the future, while at the same time political conditions favoured the growth of local particularism and hereditary professionalism. Thus possibly arose the system of caste, which through the spiritual influence of the Brahmans and the political patronage of secular rulers was extended to other areas far and near, until at the present day it dominates the social life of the majority of Hindus, and gradually is tending to supplant the earlier constitutions of societies which hitherto have remained outside the Brahmanic pale. At the present day some 400 castes have been counted ; and this number is constantly growing, as new castes branch out from older communities or arise from without.

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, vol. i., p. 311.

CHAPTER IV

VEDIC RITUAL

By the term "Vedic ritual" we denote the enormous mass of ceremonies, both domestic and public, which are prescribed for Hindus of the higher castes for the worship of the deities of the Vedic Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas in accordance with the traditions of those books. These rituals have a peculiar interest, for the vast and increasingly complex systems of Hindu priest-craft are in most cases based upon ceremonies of immemorial antiquity, some of which, as can be shown by the study of comparative religion, were practised by the Aryan ancestors of the Hindus during the dim ages in which they still were united in local habitation and language with the other groups of Indo-germanic peoples. Times have changed, new gods have arisen whose cults have ousted most of the Vedic rituals; but many of the old ceremonies still live on and embody the religious ideals of the Hindu, even when they have been marked with the badge of servitude to later cults.

I.—Gṛihya Rituals

1. *Meaning and Scope.*—The word *gṛihya* means "domestic," and the Gṛihya-sūtras or guide-books of domestic ritual, with their ancillary literature, embody a vast number of traditional rules for the religious life of the Hindu household, of which many are of extremely ancient origin. A considerable number are still observed in orthodox homes, especially of Brahmans.

Like the Śrauta or public rituals, which we shall survey later, they are based upon the fundamental principles of Vedic religion; they are addressed to the old gods of the Vēdas, and they know of no images or temples. The chief rites of the Gṛihya-sūtras are as follows:

2. *Puṃ-savana:* This, as the name shows, was a rite to obtain male offspring, and was performed in the second, third, or fourth month of pregnancy. Its chief feature was that after certain symbolic rites a twig of the *nyagrōdha*, or Ficus indica—or, according to certain authors, *kuśa* grass (Poa cynosuroides), or a twig of the Sōma plant—was pounded between mill-stones and put into the right nostril of the pregnant woman, who sat behind the domestic fire with her face towards the east. Another ritual is described in the Atharva-vēda, iii. 23, vi. 11.

3. *Garbha-rakshaṇa:* In this rite, which was to secure the welfare of the unborn babe, and was performed in the fourth month of pregnancy, a *sthālī-pāka* offering was cooked, and the mother's limbs anointed with butter.

4. *Sīmantōnnayana:* This ceremony of "hair-parting" was performed at different times. Offerings were made, the mother sitting behind the household fire, after which her hair was solemnly parted, the officiant holding for this purpose a porcupine's spine with white spots, a spike of *darbha* grass, three bundles of *kuśa* and three of *darbha*, a branch of the *udumbara* (Ficus glomerata) with unripe fruit on it, a stick of *vīratara* (andropogon), and a spindle full of thread.

5. *Sōshyantī-hōma:* This was a rite at the beginning of the birth of a child. A special hut—the *sūtikā-gṛiha* or *sūtikāgāra*, according to the medical writers foursquare and eight *hastas* on each side—was made for the reception of the mother during the birth, and at its door a birth-fire, the *sūtikāgni*, was kindled. The medical writers prescribe that, as soon as the child is born and its caul taken off, rock-salt and butter are to

be put into its mouth.[1] The Gṛihya-sūtras order that grains mixed with mustard be thrown into the fire, with the recitation of charms, to cense the child; this was done daily, according to some until the tenth day. On the twelfth day the mother and child were to be bathed, the house formally purified, and the birth-fire put out. The *aupāsana*, household-fire (see below, i. §§ 15, 16; ii. § 5), which was put out at the beginning of the birth, was now restored.

6. *Jāta-karma:* These are rites performed over the newly born babe. The first is the *āyushya*, in which, according to some, the father was to breathe thrice upon the child and utter a Vedic formula, and then a mixture of butter, honey, sour milk, and water or pounded rice and barley was thrice put into the child's mouth with a golden spoon, while Vedic formulae and his name were pronounced. Another is the *mēdhā-janana*, a rite to inspire intelligence, in which usually a formula was whispered into the child's ear, and sometimes he was given food. According to some, the child's navel-cord was then cut, and he was then bathed in tepid water, after which the father placed him on the mother's lap, washed her right breast, and made him drink from it, and then repeated the process with her left breast.

7. *Nāma-karaṇa*, or rite of naming, was performed at various times. Usually a child was given two

[1] After this the medical writers say that two stones are to be rubbed together close to the child's ear, the roots of the ears moistened with water, oil of the *balā* (Sida cordifolia) poured over his body, a cloth soaked in butter laid upon his head, and a prayer that he may live a hundred years uttered at his ear. This corresponds to the *āyushya* of the Gṛihya-sūtras. The navel-cord is then cut. They also mention various rites to protect the child and mother against the attacks of demons, especially on the sixth night. Branches are to be fastened round the hut, peppercorns, etc., scattered. Before the ceremony of name-giving a pestle is to be laid crosswise before the door of the hut, and a bunch of prophylactic twigs and plants hung upon the upper sill of the door and upon the child. Brahmans are to recite charms and perform lustratory rites for ten days, and the hut is to be thronged with cheerful visitors and resound with music.

alternative names, one for common use, and the other a secret name known only to the parents, for superstitious reasons. The common name of a Brahman usually was a compound ending in *-śarman*, for example, *Vishṇu-śarman*, "having Vishṇu for protection"; that of a Kshatriya generally ended in *-varman*, that of a Vaiśya in *-gupta*, which both have much the same meaning as *-śarman*. To this day every Brahman may optionally affix the word *śarman* to his name, and many nobles claiming Kshatriya origin use the affix *varman*. The secret name was usually formed from that of the natal constellation of the child, *e.g.* *Rauhiṇa*, from the asterism Rōhiṇī. Instead of the latter, the Sūtra of Āśvalāyana speaks of a "compellatory name," *abhivādanīya-nāma*, formed from the name of an asterism or god or of the family, which was used by students when they mentioned their names in greeting and introduced themselves. The common name was given to the child with ceremony; the officiant, sitting behind the domestic fire with his face towards the east, took the child from the mother, and after sacrificial and other rites pronounced the name.

Ceremonies with sacrifices were performed every month on the day of the birth.

8. On the third day of the third fortnight of the waxing moon after the birth, the father after adoring the moon took the child from the mother, recited Vedic verses, and gave him back to her. In the next fortnight of waxing moon he made an oblation of water to the moon. In the fourth month the father took the child out of doors and pointed out the sun to him.

9. *Anna-prāśana*, feeding with solid food, was performed in the sixth month. After sacrifice the father ate of various foods—including goat's flesh, game, and fish, according to some—and gave part to the child.

10. *Chūḍā-karaṇa*, or *chaula*, was usually performed in the third year, though the rule varied. Some

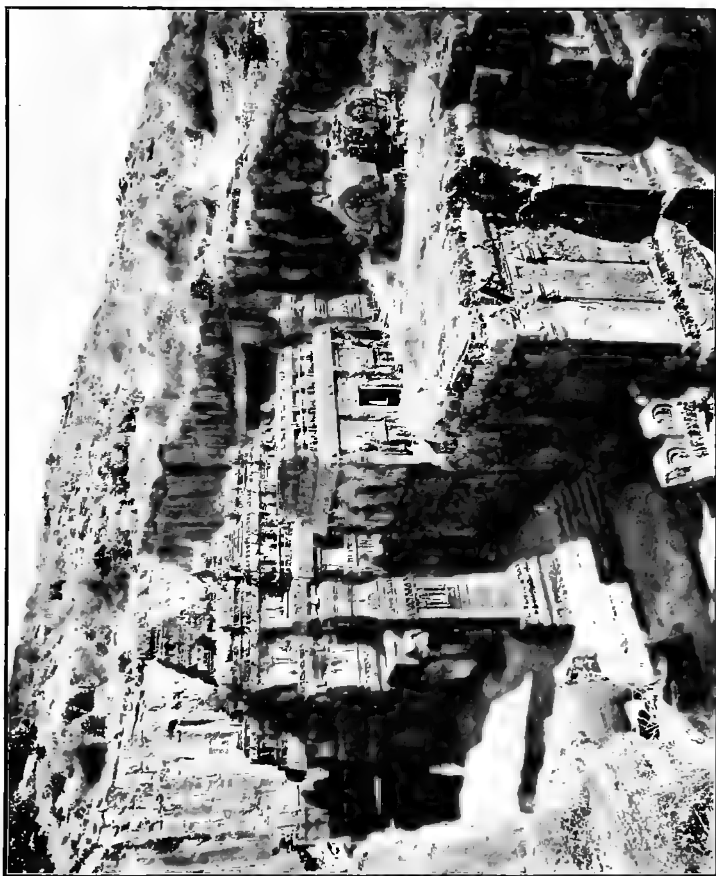
prescribe the first year for Brahmans, the fifth for Kshatriyas, the seventh for Vaiśyas. In this rite a porcupine's spine or stalks of *kuśa* were laid in the boy's hair, and a tonsure made. According to one school, two knives were used, one of wood and one of iron. With the wooden knife was made an imaginary cut in the hair; with the iron blade first the right lock was cut, then the hair at the back, then the left lock, after which the hair was arranged according to the family custom.

11. *Karṇa-vēdha*, or piercing of the ears, took place when the boy was three or five years of age.

12. *Kēśānta*, the shaving of the beard, was commonly performed in the 16th year, though some prescribe the 18th year, and others leave the date to be determined by family custom. Manu (ii. 65) prescribes the 22nd year for Kshatriyas, the 24th for Vaiśyas. The hair on the head, face, and body was shaved and the nails trimmed, with rites similar to those of the Chūḍākaraṇa. The rite was accompanied by a *gō-dāna* or gift of oxen to Brahmans, etc.

13. *Upanayana*, the investiture with the sacred cord, worn by the three higher castes over the left shoulder and across the body to symbolise their second or spiritual birth,[1] was usually performed in the case of Brahman boys in the 8th year from conception, with Kshatriyas in the 11th year, with Vaiśyas in the 12th. Some, however, allow it to Brahmans in the 5th, 7th, 9th, or 10th year, and others permit Brahmans to hold it at any time until the 16th year, Kshatriyas until the 22nd, and Vaiśyas until the 24th. The ritual varied; one form of it may be summarised as follows. On the solemn day the boy's hair was cut, and he was bathed, adorned, fed, and dressed in a new robe. Brahmans

[1] Hence the name *dvija*, which, however, is usually appropriated to Brahmans. As a rule the cord of Brahmans was of *muñja* grass (Saccharum m.); that of Kshatriyas was a bowstring, or was made of *kūśa* grass (Saccharum spontaneum); that of Vaiśyas was of wool, hemp, or *murvā* (Sanseviera Roxb.).



THE KAILĀSA AT ELURA

(see page 243)

were entertained at table. The boy then stood facing the west behind a specially kindled fire with the Brahman preceptor to whose charge he was to be consigned, who stood facing the east. He spread *darbha* grass and a seat for the preceptor to the south of the fire, and with two formulae of the Yajur-vēda symbolically took the fire-spirit Agni into his own body. To the north of the fire lay a stone, a new garment, a skin, a sacred cord, a staff, and some sticks. After making an *ājya* oblation (below, i. § 16), the preceptor, pronouncing a formula, made the boy mount upon the stone, and put upon him the robe, cord, and skin. Food was then given to the boy, and he formally entered upon his apprenticeship with a dialogue, in which the preceptor pronounced both of the disciple's names (see above, § 7). Both then performed ablutions, with various symbolic rites. The preceptor either immediately or some time later began his duties by teaching the boy the *sāvitrī* or *gāyatrī* verse (Ṛig-vēda iii. 62, 10). Seven logs of fresh *palāśa* wood (Butea frondosa), a *prādēśa* in length, soaked in butter, were laid on the fire, either before or after this lesson. Usually the boy now received also the staff, and according to some a bowl in which henceforth he was to collect by begging food for himself and his preceptor. The latter received a gift, and with some other rites the ceremony ended. The boy was now a *brahma-chārin* or novice in attendance upon his preceptor, whose sacred fires he had to replenish every day with fresh fuel; his bed was the earth, and he had to take ceremonial ablutions morning and evening, and wander with stick and bowl from door to door begging alms of food for his master and himself.[1]

The subjects taught were the Vēdas and their

[1] Girls did not receive an *upanayana*, but the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa (iii. 3, 3, 2 ff.) and Śata-patha-br. (i. 3, 1, 13) mention an old custom of tying a girdle of *muñja* round the waist of a married woman before she took part in a sacrifice with her husband. The rites 1–9 were performed over girls, but without formulae.

literature, orally recited,[1] and usually preceded by various solemn rites and ascetic observances. The opening of the school (*upākarma*), attended with sacrifices and other rites, usually took place when the moon was in the asterisms Śravaṇā or Hastā, and was followed by a holiday of three days. The first term of the session usually lasted about six months, ending in the month Māgha, though sometimes it was about four months long; the second term began soon after. Each term was followed by a holiday of three days, besides which there were other short breaks in the course of study.

14. Before his return home after completing his studies (*samāvartana*), the scholar took a bath, from which the term *snātaka*, "one who has bathed," came to be applied to every Brahman student who had finished his noviciate. His hair and nails were cut, his teeth cleaned, a fire kindled, and sacrifices offered. According to some authorities, the staff, skin, and sacred cord that he had hitherto carried were to be thrown into the water. He was duly dressed and equipped—according to some, with earrings, a parasol, shoes, a pair of robes, a jewel, a staff, a turban, a crown of flowers, powder for rubbing his body, and ointment—and after passing the day in solitude and silence until the stars were seen, he went towards the north or east, worshipped the quarters of space, stars, and moon, and then was free to go whithersoever he desired.

15. *Vivāha*, marriage, with the establishment of a household, was the duty of the student who returned from his noviciate. The first rite was the *indrāṇī*-

[1] As the Vēdas in early times were transmitted orally, great pains were taken to ensure the accuracy of the tradition, and for this purpose different modes of recitation were invented, in addition to the *pada-pāṭha* or analysed text of Śākalya. Thus there arose a *krama-pāṭha*, or "step-text," where each word is read twice, so that four words represented by a + b + c + d were recited as ab + bc + cd; a *jaṭā-pāṭha*, or "hair-bunch-text," in which four words a + b + c + d were recited as ab + ba + ab + bc + cb + bc; and a *ghana-pāṭha*, or "massed text," where the words a + b + c + d were recited as ab + ba + abc + cba + abc + bc + cb + bcd.

karma, when the bridegroom came to fetch his bride. She was previously bathed by night with fragrant waters by women. A red or undyed skin was given to her, and she sat behind the fire holding the *āchārya* or religious adviser, who sacrificed to Indra, Indrāṇī, and other deities. The bridegroom, after making offerings to the same gods, as well as to Īśāna and Vaiśravaṇa, and bathing, came accompanied by fortunate young women to the house, whereupon rites and sacrifices were performed, which differed in various schools. He then gave her a robe and anointed her, reciting verses of the *Sūryā-sūkta* (Ṛig-vēda x. 85); in her right hand he put a porcupine's spine, in her left a mirror, after which came other symbolical and prophylactic rites. Outside was the wedding fire, with a pot of water (*sthēyāḥ*), roasted grains, and a mill-stone, which were the apparatus for the formal *kanyā-pradāna*, or act of giving away the bride by her father or his representative. The company now sat behind the fire on a mat, and sacrifices were offered. The bridegroom then stepped behind the bride to the south, and grasped her hands, which were laid together; her brother or mother, taking some roasted grain, made her mount upon the mill-stone with her right foot; her brother or some other kinsman laid roasted grain in her joined hands, with which she made offering. The bridegroom then returned to his place, after which he or a Brahman led the bride round the fire, keeping her right side towards it. She then mounted the mill-stone again, and the same rite was repeated thrice. The rest of the grain was thrown into the fire.

The next ceremony, according to some, was the *saptapadī*, in which the bride took seven steps towards the north-east, accompanied by the bridegroom. As they walked water was sprinkled over their heads, or the bridegroom besprinkled the bride. After this (or at an earlier stage, according to some) was performed

the *pāṇi-grahaṇa* : while the bride sat looking towards the east, the bridegroom, facing the north, took her hand, uttering the verse, "I clasp thy hand for happiness, that thou mayst reach old age with me thy husband," etc. (Ṛig-vēda x. 85, 36). After this gifts were distributed, and the bride started for her new home in a car (or upon a beast of burden). She anointed the wheels and axle of the car and the oxen, and placed branches of a fruit-tree upon the car. The first night was to be spent in the house of a Brahman man or woman, where the wedding-fire, which they brought with them in a vessel, was replenished. The bride sat silently behind the fire, on a red bull's hide with the hair turned outwards, until the stars were seen. The bridegroom then offered six oblations of butter, pouring the remainder of each over her head. They then rose, and he pointed out to her the Pole Star and the star Arundhatī in Ursa Major. To the former she said, "Thou art firm," etc. (Taittirīya-āraṇyaka ii. 19, 1), to the latter, "I am bound," pronouncing on both occasions her husband's name and her own. When they arrived at their home, a skin was spread there. The bride had to enter the house with her right foot foremost and without touching the threshold ; according to some, she was to be carried in by a man, and placed on a red bull's hide. Various symbolic rites then took place, and some prescribe at this stage the ceremony of sitting and watching the stars that has been mentioned above. The young couple were forbidden to have connubial relations with one another for three nights ; some even extended this period of abstinence for a year. They lay at night on the ground, and ate no spiced or salted food ; according to one school, a scented staff covered with a thread or a robe was to be laid between their couches.[1] On the fourth day marital connection began, and special offerings were made.

[1] The Atharva-vēda (xiv. 2, 33–36) contains formulae for exorcising the

16. *Household Cult.*—The wedding fire brought home by the young couple was kept perpetually alight as the centre of the household worship.[1] It was called the *gṛihya*, *aupāsana*, or *āvasathya* fire, and stood inside the house or outside in a special hall. In it the master of the house (who might be represented in most cases by a Brahman, and in a few by his wife) offered the various domestic sacrifices generically styled *pāka-yajña* or *gṛihya-sthālī-pāka*. The simplest kind of these was the *ājya*, in which butter was offered with a spoon in the fire and two or three stalks of *kuśa*-grass serving as *pavitras* or "purifiers" were sprinkled with water from a jar (*praṇītā*) on the north of the fire. The domestic ritual also included sacrifices of animals, *e.g.* oxen (for the reception of guests, worship of deceased ancestors, and celebration of a marriage) and goats. When the victim had been slaughtered by the officiating Brahman, the caul was extracted, laid on two sticks (*vapā-śrapaṇīs*) of the Gmelina arborea (*kāśmarya*), washed, heated on a *śāmitra* (a brand which previous to the slaughter had been consecrated by the rite of *paryagni-karaṇa* or carrying round the fire in silence), and roasted on the fire. Other parts of the victim were also cooked, etc.

Morning and evening the householder performed the five *mahā-yajñas* or "great sacrifices," namely (1) the *dēva-yajña* or offering to gods, in which food was cast into the fire for various deities; (2) the *bhūta-yajña* or *bali-haraṇa*, an offering of different foods, which were laid in several carefully purified places for certain gods and spirits; (3) the *pitṛi-yajña* or offering to the Fathers (deceased ancestors), to whom was

Gandharva Viśvā-vasu, a spirit of fertility supposed to have the first claim to take a bride's maidenhead, and who therefore had to be conjured away before the bridegroom could consummate his marriage.

[1] On this and the other sacred fires of the household see below I. § 17, II. § 5.

given the residue left over from the last rite; (4) the *brahma-yajña*, or offering to Brahma, *i.e.* study of the Vēdas; and (5) the *manushya-yajña* or *nṛi-yajña*, the offering to mankind, namely, the entertainment of guests. According to the rules of hospitality, entertainment was due first to Brahmans, next to beggars and guests; lastly the needs of the household were to be satisfied. The householder had also to offer morning and evening two handfuls of rice or barley (sour milk and roasted grain, according to some) to the gods Agni, Prajā-pati, and Sūrya, the details varying. On the new moon he made offerings to Indra-Agni and Agni, and the full moon to Agni and Agni-Sōma, food being cooked for the occasion in a pot, after which his wife brought out a *bali* offering from the house. The full moon of the month Śrāvaṇa was celebrated with the rites of the *śrāvaṇa-karma*, in which snakes were exorcised, and to escape their visits the beds of the household were put upon raised bedsteads, where they remained until the full moon of Mārgaśīrsha; that of Praushṭhapada (Bhādrapada), with the *indra-karma* in honour of Indra and other gods; that of Āśvina, with the *āśvayujī* or *pṛishātaka-karma*, in which a mixture of fresh or sour milk and butter was offered to divers deities; and that of Mārgaśīrsha, by the *āgrahāyanī*, when lustratory rites suitable for the end of the year were performed, and the beds of the household laid again upon the floor. On the arrival of a guest to whom special honour was due—for example, a Brahman, a king, a kinsman, or a friend—he was received with the ceremony of *argha* by the master of the house, who gave him six gifts, namely the scented *arghya*-water, the *madhu-parka* (a mixture of honey and curds, to which some added clarified butter, groats, and water), one or two foot-cushions, water for washing the feet and rinsing the mouth, and a cow or goat, which was to be sacrificed or released according as the guest directed.

There were many other domestic rites, both regular and optional, and chiefly designed to secure from the powers of the other world the worldly welfare of the sacrificer's household.

17. *Death* was naturally attended with numerous ceremonies. The dead were usually burnt, except children under two years of age. The pyre of the deceased householder was kindled with his domestic fire, those of others with the fire of the community. After the hair on the body and head of the dead man had been cut, his nails trimmed, his body washed, and his great toes tied together with a bundle of twigs to efface his footprints lest death should come back by them to the house, he was anointed with nard, a garland of nard was placed on his head, and an offering of melted butter mixed with sour milk was made to the deceased ancestors. The funeral procession to the pyre then started. First were carried the sacrificial fires and ritual vessels of the deceased, after which came elderly persons of both sexes, the males separate from the females. Then followed the corpse—on an ox-car, according to some—and after it the victim, a black or one-coloured cow or goat, the limbs of which were to be laid by those of the dead; after it walked the mourners, their hair dishevelled and their sacred cords hanging down. After sprinkling the place with water by means of a twig of *śamī* (Prosopis spicigera ?), the officiant placed the Āhavanīya fire on the south-east, the Gārhapatya on the north-west, and the Dakshiṇa on the south-west.[1] On the wood of the pyre were laid sacrificial grass and the skin of a black antelope with the hair outwards; on this was placed the corpse, with the head towards the Āhavanīya fire, having been carried northwards past the Gārhapatya to the pyre. If he was a Kshatriya, his bow was laid on the north of the pile. His wife also sat there, until a representative of the

[1] On these fires see above, I. § 16, and below, II. § 5.

dead bade her rise, pronouncing the verse, "Rise up, woman, into the world of the living" (Ṛig-vēda, x. 18, 8).[1] Then from the hand of the dead Brahman was taken his staff, from the hand of the dead Kshatriya his bow, from the hand of the dead Vaiśya his goad; they were broken and thrown on the pyre. Upon the corpse were laid his sacrificial utensils, and the seven apertures of the body (nose, etc.) were covered with gold pieces. The caul of the sacrificial animal was laid over his head and face, its heart on his heart, and so forth, the kidneys being placed in his hands. The officiant then covered all with the antelope skin, offered in the Dakshiṇa fire to Agni, Kāma, Lōka, and Anumati, and poured a libation to Agni upon the dead man's breast. The pyre was then kindled, and the verse, "Go forth, go forth on the ways of old" (Ṛig-vēda, x. 14, 7) was recited. On the north of the Āhavanīya fire a ḥole was dug to the depth of the knee and a water-plant (*avakā*, the Blyxa octandra) placed in it; the verse "These living have parted from the dead" (Ṛig-vēda, x. 18, 3) was recited, and the company parted without looking backwards. On their return all the relatives performed the *udaka-karma* by bathing in a stream or pool and pouring a handful of water for the dead. They then sat on a ritually pure grass-sward, discoursing on ancient pious tales and the like, until the stars came out, whereupon they went home in procession, the youngest in front, none looking backwards, and on reaching their houses ended the day with various ceremonies.

A few days after the funeral the bones were gathered by elderly members of the family, whose leader sprinkled the place by means of a twig of *śamī* with water mixed with milk (for Brahmans, and with a mixture of water and honey for Kshatriyas, according to some).

[1] On the custom of burning the widow, see the chapter on Law and Government, ii. § 9.

The bones were put into an urn and buried. The party then returned without looking backwards, touched water, and performed a *śrāddha* offering to the dead (see below, § 18).

Death entailed upon the family of the deceased a ritual uncleanness, during which they were debarred from most of the regular rites. When a child under two years of age died, the parents were unclean from one to ten nights. The death of a parent or preceptor caused impurity for twelve days, that of a *sapiṇḍa* or relative sharing in *śrāddhas* to common ancestors (below, § 18) for ten days.

18. *Śrāddhas*, or offerings of water and the *piṇḍa* or ball of meal, now began to be due to the deceased. For a time—a year, or three fortnights, or until the happening of some lucky event—his spirit remained in the condition of a *prēta* or ghost, and received *ēkōddishṭa-śrāddhas*, offerings for himself alone, in which only *kuśa*-grass, *arghya* water (above, § 16), and balls of meal were used; but when this period was over, the rite of *sapiṇḍī-karaṇa* was performed, by which he was brought into the company of the "Fathers" or deceased ancestors, whose home was in the south, and became entitled to share with them in the *śrāddhas* regularly offered to them. At the *sapiṇḍī-karaṇa* four meal balls were offered, with four jars full of water, perfumes, and sesam, three of the balls and jars being for the Manes (great-grandfather, grandfather, and father of the deceased) and the fourth for the deceased himself; the fourth ball and jar were divided between the three first of the Manes. By this rite the great-grandfather of the dead man was removed from the company of Manes receiving the *śrāddha* offerings of the family, at which the normal number of ancestors worshipped is three.

Regular *śrāddha*-offerings to the departed ancestors were held on the dates of the moon's changes (*pārvaṇa*-

śrāddhas), on the odd days of the second fortnight or waning half of each month (*māsika-śrāddhas*), and the *ashṭakās* and *anvashṭakyas*. At the *pārvaṇa-śrāddhas* an odd number of Brahmans (three at least) were invited and fed. The master of the house placed three balls of meal on a space of ground strewn with *kuśa* grass for the three immediately preceding generations of deceased forefathers, and at some distance behind them three balls for their wives. In these and in the similar *māsika* rituals the details varied considerably. The *ashṭakās* were originally ceremonies for the turn of the year, and were by some observed in the second half of the months Mārgaśīrsha, Pausha, Māgha, and Phālguna, while others held only three, or even fewer; their rites included offerings to the Manes. After the *ashṭakās*, or the middle one of them, came the *anvashṭakyas*, in which, after sacrifices to the gods, offerings of rice porridge, milk-rice, rice and sesam, whey, etc., were presented to the three generations of fathers and mothers; trenches were made and strewn with *darbha*-grass, over which water was poured, and three meal-balls offered in the trenches; a thread was laid upon each as a symbolic garment for the spirits.

In the above rites the Manes were addressed as *aśru-mukha*, "tearful of face," the celebrant walked round leftwards, the sacred cord was hung over the right shoulder, and an odd number of Brahmans was entertained, for the dominating note was one of gloom. It was otherwise at the *śrāddhas* specially held on the occasion of some joyful event, such as the birth of a son; then the spirits were addressed as *nāndī-mukha*, "cheerful of face," the number of Brahman guests was even, and the celebrant went round towards the right. The meal-balls were made of sour milk and raw grain, and barley was used instead of sesam. Such rites were called *vṛiddhi-śrāddhas*; and similar ceremonies, styled *pūrta-śrāddhas*, were performed when a householder

wished to signalise himself by pious works, such as the construction of ponds or wells.

19. *Pitṛi-mēdha* was the rite on the erection of a monument to the dead. Several months, or even years, were allowed to elapse from the time of the funeral before it was performed. The bones of the dead were carried by night in an urn, with jars and sunshades, to a suitable spot, where they were laid down and covered with a robe, and then the descendants—sons, grandsons, etc.—walked round them, each thrice, and fanned them, while drums were beaten and lutes played. At sunrise the bones were carried southwards and buried in a secluded spot, over which a monument was raised with various ceremonies. On the south of this, according to some authorities, were cut two crooked furrows, which were filled with milk and water; seven were also made on the north and filled with water; the celebrants threw into these three stones each, walked over them reciting the verse Ṛig-vēda x. 53, 8, bathed, put on new clothes, and returned home holding a bull's tail. Others prescribe seven trenches full of water; along these was to be brought a ship containing barley and gold, into which the company were to step, pronouncing formulae of the Atharva-veda (xii. 2, 48, etc.).

II.—Śrauta Rituals

1. *Meaning and Scope.*—The *śrauta* ceremonies are literally those that are in accordance with *śruti* or scriptural revelation, in opposition to the *gṛihya* rites, which are *smārta*, or based on religious tradition, *smṛiti*. They consist for the most part of an elaborate system of rites developed from the ancient ceremonies of sacrifice for which the hymns of the Ṛig-vēda were originally composed; and they were chiefly performed by professional priests on behalf of the householder or *yajamāna*.

2. *Ritual in the Ṛig-vēda.*—The Ṛig-vēda is the hymn-book of an already highly developed system of liturgies, which centred round the sacred fire, into which were poured oblations of butter, etc., and the offering of *sōma*, an intoxicating draught brewed from an unknown plant. There were no regular temples or images of the gods. The place of worship was the *vēdi*, a smooth piece of ground in or beside the homestead of the celebrant, which was strewn with carefully arranged *barhis* or sacrificial grass, smeared with butter; in its centre was a stone press for extracting the juice of the Sōma. In front was the sacred fire, which was kindled by rubbing two sticks (*araṇīs*), and fed thrice daily, butter being poured into it from ladles.

The Ṛig-vēda speaks of three places of the sacred fire, but only mentions by name the Gārhapatya fire (see below, § 5). The chief deity worshipped in the fire-cult was naturally the fire-god Agni, but the other gods of the Vedic pantheon also received in varying proportions their share in the oblations presented in the flames. Among the rites that survived in later times may be mentioned the *pravargya* and *dadhi-gharma* (below, §§ 13, 14).

Milk, grain, cakes, *surā* (an intoxicating drink made from barley), and sometimes but rarely honey, were also offered to the gods, to whom were also sacrificed horses, cows, bulls, goats, and rams on occasion. The horse-sacrifice or *aśva-mēdha*, of which the fully developed liturgy is described below (§ 21), was already practised in the time of the Ṛig-vēda, though apparently with simpler ceremonies. There are even some traces of human sacrifice (Ṛig-v. x. 18, 8; x. 90).

The ritual of the Sōma was of great importance, and was performed with elaborate formalities. After being gathered the stalks of the sacred plant were pressed—usually between stones, though the Ṛig-vēda has also some traces of an earlier use of a mortar—and the juice

after being filtered was mixed with water and milk, offered in cups to the gods, and drunk by the celebrants. It was pressed thrice daily—in the morning with hymns in *gāyatrī* metres, at midday with *trishṭubh* verses, and in the evening with *jagatī* metres.[1] The noonday brew was for Indra, that of the evening for the Ṛibhus. With the Sōma were offered barley, cakes, etc., a special cake being presented to Agni in his quality of *svishṭa-kṛit*, " maker of right sacrifice."

Most of these Vedic rites required the services of a large class of professional hymn-makers and priests, who hired themselves out to any householder whose piety called for their ministrations on his behalf. The Vēdas have come down in three forms—the Ṛig-vēda, containing a collection of hymns in a more or less original shape; the Sāma-vēda, of which most of the contents are verses of the Ṛig-vēda with their musical notation for ritual singing; and the Yajur-vēda, containing hymns with a large amount of directions regarding the detail of the sacrifices. Besides these we have the Atharva-vēda, which, however, belongs to the sphere of private cult, or rather magic. This triple division of the Vēdas is already foreshadowed in the Ṛig-vēda, which mentions priests of all the three orders, viz. the *hōtṛi*, who recited verses of the Ṛig-vēda (especially in *trishṭubh* metres); the *sāmaga*, who sang verses in the manner of the Sāma-vēda;[2] the *adhvaryu*, who performed the manual offices of the sacrifice as set forth in the Yajur-vēda; the *agnīdh*, or fire-kindler; the *upavakṭri* or *praśāstṛi* (later called *maitrāvaruṇa*), who

[1] The *gāyatrī* metre may be represented by the formula *ccccslsc* thrice repeated, the letter *c* representing a syllable either short or long by nature or position, the *s* a short, and the *l* a long syllable. The formula for the Vedic *trishṭubh* is *cccccsslslc* (in classical literature *clsllsslslc*) four times repeated; for the *jagatī* it is *cccccccslslsc* four times. There are, however, many varieties and irregularities in the Vēdas.

[2] The verses sung were chiefly in *gāyatrī* and *pragātha* metres. The latter is a metre consisting of strophes made of two verses of divers structure.

pronounced the *praishas* or formulae giving the cue for the recitation of the *hōtṛi*; the *pōtṛi*, or purifier, who remedied mistakes in the ritual; the *nēshtṛi*, who led forward the celebrant's wife and prepared the libations of *surā*; the *grāva-grābha*, who held the pressing-stones; the *uda-grābha*, holding the water; the *śamitṛi*, who slaughtered the victim; the *brahman*, who, like the *brāhmaṇāchchhaṃsin* of later times, was mainly occupied with the recitation of verses to Indra; and the *purō-hita*, whose chief function was the general superintendence of the royal cult. Two classes of singers of the Sāma-vēda school are indicated in the Ṛig-vēda, the *udgātṛi* and the *prastōtṛi*.

We now pass on to a review of the developed Śrauta rituals as set forth in the liturgical literature of the next period, the Brāhmaṇas, with the works ancillary to them.

3. *Ministry.*—The number of officiant priests was now largely increased. The Sōma liturgies required the ministration of *hōtṛi*, *maitrāvaruṇa*, *achchhāvāka*, *adhvaryu*, *grāva-stut*, *nēshtṛi*, *unnētṛi*, *pratiprasthātṛi*, *udgātṛi*, *prastōtṛi*, *pratihartṛi*, *subrahmaṇya*, *brahman*, *brāhmaṇāchchhaṃsin*, *pōtṛi*, and *āgnīdhra*, to whom the Kaushītaki school added a *sadasya* as superintendent. The modest *agni-hōtra* called for the services only of an *adhvaryu;* but the *agny-ādhēya* and liturgies of the new and full moon joined to him an *āgnīdhra*, *hōtṛi*, and *brahman*; the *chāturmāsyas* added a *pratiprasthātṛi* to assist the *adhvaryu*; and the *paśu-bandhas* brought in further a *maitrāvaruṇa.* The functions of most of these worthies have been indicated above; we may add that the *achchhāvāka* and *grāva-stut* shared in the recitations, the latter reciting the praises of the Sōma-press, the *unnētṛi* poured out the Sōma, and the *āgnīdhra* was the Vedic *agnīdh*, the *pratihartṛi* took part in the chanting under the *udgātṛi*, and the *subrahmaṇya* summoned the gods to regale themselves with the Sōma.

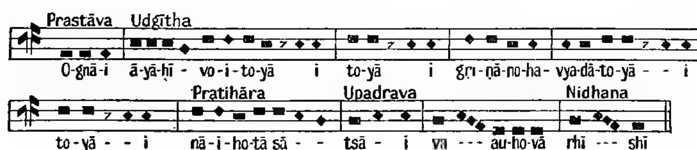
4. *Recitative and Chant.*—The modes in which the



THE GREAT TEMPLE OF ŚIVA AT TANJORE

(*see page 243*)

Vēdas are recited or sung seem to have undergone but little change during the last three thousand years, and the musical tradition that has been preserved, and is still observed in practice by orthodox Vaidikas, is doubtless almost identical with that which existed in the age of the Brāhmaṇas. As we have already indicated, the *hōtṛi* and his assistants uttered verses of the Ṛig-vēda in a semi-musical recitative (*śastra*), while the verses of the Sāma-vēda were sung in musical chant (*sāma*) by the priests of that school. There were numerous melodies or *sāmas* known in the Sāma-vēdin school, to which the verses of the Ṛig-vēda were adapted by means of *stōbhas* or twistings of syllables where necessary. A *sāma*, as a rule, consisted of (1) a *prastāva* or prelude sung by the *prastōtṛi*, and introduced by the syllable *huṃ*, (2) an *udgītha* or main chant by the *udgātṛi*, preluded by the syllable *ōṃ*, (3) a *pratihāra* by the *pratihartṛi*, introduced with *huṃ*, (4) an *upadrava* by the *udgātṛi*, which was sometimes omitted, and (5) a *nidhana* or final chorus sung by all. Additions might be made to this scheme, and sometimes a chorus of 4, 5, or 6 *upagātṛis* sang the syllable *ho* as a bass accompaniment. As a specimen we give the verse Sāma-vēda i. 1, 1, *agna ā yāhi vītaye gṛiṇānō havya-dātaye ni hōtā satsi barhishi*, as set in plain chant by Burnell in his introduction to the Ārshēya-brāhmaṇa. The sign 7 indicates that the syllable which it follows is to be prolonged by one mora, and all notes sung in the expiration of a single breath are included in one bar.



Strophes of this kind or *stōtras*, consisting of several

lines each, were repeated in different modes to form a *stōma*, which again might be chanted in various manners. Thus for example the *pāñchadaśa-stōma*, consisting of a *pragātha* strophe of three lines, might be sung in *pañcha-pañchinī* arrangement as follows: (1) aaa + b + c, (2) a + bbb + c, (3) a + b + ccc.[1] The singing of the *stōtra* was preceded by a dialogue in which the *udgātṛis* asked leave of the *brahman* and *maitrāvaruṇa* to sing, saying, "O Brahman, O Praśāstṛi, let us sing praises," to which those functionaries answered with a formula ending "*Ōṃ*, sing praises!" When the chant came to an end, the *hōtṛi* and *adhvaryu* usually held a formal dialogue with recitations and prayer, after which the sacrifice began.

The Śrauta rituals may be divided into two great classes, (1) the *havir-yajñas*, or liturgies of fire-oblations, and (2) the *sōma-saṃsthās* or varieties of the Sōma-cult. The former will be summarily reviewed in §§ 5–11 below, the latter in §§ 13–26.

5. *Agny-ādhēya*, the establishment of the sacred fires in the house, by which the householder became an *āhitāgni*, begins with the construction of a round hut on the west for the Gārhapatya fire, with doors on the east and south; a square hut for the Āhavanīya on the east with doors on the east and west; a crescent-shaped hearth for the Dakshiṇa fire south of the Gārhapatya; a round hearth for the Sabhya, in front of the Gārhapatya; and another round hearth for the Āvasathya, east of the Sabhya. A fire was kindled on the Gārhapatya hearth by rubbing, or fetched thither from another sacrificial fire or the house of a Vaiśya, and in it was cooked *brahmaudana*, four measures of rice porridge, which was given to the officiant *adhvaryu*, *āgnīdhra*, *hōtṛi*, and *brahman*. When the day of the

[1] Owing to the complications of these systems the song had to be accompanied by motions of the fingers and shifting of small sticks to count the members of the chant.

ceremony dawned, this fire was extinguished, or carried away southwards, and in its place was raised a round space of earth, one *aratni* in extent, which was surrounded by small stones. The other fireplaces were constructed in the same manner. The fire was then kindled by rubbing together the fire-sticks (*araṇīs*) used for this purpose. These consisted of a lower and an upper stick; the latter, or *pramantha*, stood vertically in the former, and had its upper end moving in a spindle held by a plug fixed in a cross-bar. Round the spindle was a cord of hemp and cow's hair, which was drawn by the wife of the householder, and made the upper stick whirl round. A young horse (white or red, according to different authorities) stood by. The Gārhapatya having been lit, a burning brand was carried thence to light the Āhavanīya, the horse being led in front and the house-master walking behind the brand. Some prescribe the kindling of the Dakshiṇa fire in the same manner as the Āhavanīya; others hold that it should be lit previously to the latter by rubbing the sticks or by the Āgnīdhra fetching burning brands from a common fire; but if the fire that had been lit in the first instance on the Gārhapatya hearth was still burning on the south side, to which it had been removed, it was to be brought now to the Dakshiṇa hearth. On the latter all food but meat was henceforth to be cooked. The Sabhya was usually lit by rubbing the sticks. During the lighting of the fire, or later, dice were cast (by the priests, or by Kshatriyas) for the possession of a cow. The cow was formally exchanged for rice, which was cooked and eaten by the company. The ceremony concluded with various rites, the horse being driven away towards the north.

When it was found that these fires did not bring the good fortune that was expected for the household, a ceremony of *punar-ādhēya* was performed, in which new fires were established with very similar rites.

6. *Agni-hōtra* was performed every morning and evening, an *adhvaryu* officiating. The milk of a cow that had had a bull calf was purified with grass-stalks at the Gārhapatya, mixed with water, and after performance of the *paryagni-karaṇa* (above, i. § 16) offered in the Gārhapatya and Āhavanīya. The householder then ate food, and poured out four libations of water to the gods, deceased ancestors, Seven Ṛishis, and Agni Pṛithivī-kshit. The Dakshiṇa fire was worshipped mentally ; to the Sabhya homage was paid by sitting near it for a short time in the early morning.

7. *The New and the Full Moon* were celebrated each with a festival of two days, covering the last day of the old and the first of the new fortnight. Cakes called *purōḍāśas* were made of grain husked in a mortar on a black hide by the *adhvaryu* and the householder's wife or the *āgnīdhra*, ground by the *adhvaryu* and the lady and her husband, and baked on the Gārhapatya fire. Then was dug a *vēdi* or place to receive the sacrificial food and other apparatus. It lay between the fires, and was shaped somewhat like an hour-glass, being oblong, with the longer sides concave. The main feature of the sacrifice that now followed was the offering of the *purōḍāśas*, which on the full moon were presented to Agni and Agni-Sōma, and on the new moon to Indra-Agni, in lieu whereof some regaled the latter gods with a mixture of milk and whey. These rites were preceded and followed by oblations of butter, etc., after which the cakes were distributed among the priests (*āgnīdhra*, *adhvaryu*, *hōtṛi*, and *brahman*). The deceased ancestors were summoned to take their share, the priests received a fee of porridge, and a series of minor rites concluded the function.

8. *Piṇḍa-pitṛi-yajña* was a rite for the deceased ancestors, held in the afternoon of the day of new moon, when the householder made an offering over the Dakshiṇa fire to the Manes, with the forms

characteristic of *śrāddhas* (above, i. § 18). After two oblations to Agni and Sōma, water was poured into a trench guarded against evil spirits by a brand from the Dakshiṇa fire, and the Manes were invited to wash in it. Three or four meal-balls (*piṇḍas*) were laid in the trench for the repast of the Manes, who were summoned by name and adored, etc.

9. *Chāturmāsya* was the name given to a trio of liturgies inaugurating the beginnings of the three seasons of the year, viz. the *Vaiśvadēva* in spring, the *Varuṇa-praghāsa* in the rainy season, and the *Sāka-mēdha* in autumn. In all three the prelude was the same, five oblations to Agni, Sōma, Savitṛi, Sarasvatī, and Pūshan. In the Vaiśvadēva this was followed by the offering of two *purōḍāśa* cakes, one to the Maruts and one to Heaven and Earth, and a mixture of hot milk and whey to the Viśvē Dēvāḥ or All Gods. In the Varuṇa-praghāsa dishes of gruel (of barley, or barley and rice) were prepared by the mistress of the house, and a ram for Varuṇa was brought by the *adhvaryu*, a sheep for the Maruts by the *pratiprasthātṛi*, both animals being clothed in woollen coats and marked with appropriate tokens of sex (testicles and breasts). Two *vēdis* were made before the Āhavanīya fire, a northern one for the *adhvaryu* and a southern for the *pratiprasthātṛi*; on the former was raised an *uttara-vēdi* or fire-hearth made of the earth dug up in constructing the vēdi, with a hollow in its centre. On the next morning fire was laid in the two *vēdis*. Various offerings were made, chiefly on the northern *vēdi*. The lady of the house had to confess to the *pratiprasthātṛi* beside the Gārhapatya fire how many and what lovers she had, if any; then she invoked the Maruts, prayed for the removal of her guilt, and with her face turned westwards offered in the Dakshiṇa fire her dishes of gruel, which she carried on her head in a sling made of woven reeds. The two priests exchanged their victims and slaughtered

them, and after other rites the master and mistress of the house bathed themselves. In the Sāka-mēdha a series of offerings was followed by a *pitṛi-yajña* to the deceased ancestors in a hut south of the Dakshiṇa fire, upon a *vēdi* on which the latter was placed. Water was poured out for the spirits, and meal-balls (*piṇḍas*) placed on the eastern, southern, and western corners of the *vēdi*. With this liturgy was connected the *traiyambaka-hōma*, an offering of four or more cakes to the malignant Rudra upon a cross-road, in a fire taken from the Dakshiṇa; one cake was thrown northwards upon a molehill, and the fire thrice circumambulated leftwards by the company and thrice by the householder's unmarried daughters; the remainder of the cakes was tossed up into the air by the sacrificer, caught in its fall, and hung up in two baskets on a tree or anthill on the north, as a viaticum for the god. The Sāka-mēdha was followed by the Śunāsīrīya, in which offerings were made to Śunā-sīrau and other deities.

10. *Āgrayaṇa* was a consecration of first fruits, namely, of rice in the autumn, barley in spring, millet in the autumn or rainy season, and bamboo-seed in summer. The rites varied.

11. *Paśu-bandha* (*Paśv-ālambha*) was an animal sacrifice, usually a goat to Indra-Agni, Prajā-pati, or the Sun-god Sūrya. It might be offered once a year, in the rains, autumn, or spring, or once every six months, at the beginning and end of the "northern course" of the sun, which begins at the winter solstice. A sacrificial post (*yūpa*) was cut from a *palāśa* tree (Butea frondosa); it was fixed in a trench that lay half within and half without the *vēdi*, and a rope was fastened round its middle. The *vēdi* for this rite lay east of the fire; one-third of it, on the east, was occupied by the *uttara-vēdi* (above, ii. § 7), on which was a fire which for the occasion took the place of the Āhavanīya, while the latter held the place of the

Gārhapatya. The victim was tied to the post, and after preliminary oblations and prayers the *āgnīdhra* thrice walked round it, the sacrificial fire, etc., with a fire-brand (*paryagni-karaṇa*), while the *maitrāvaruṇa* recited verses and offerings were made. After some further formalities the officiants walked to the sacrificial fire-place in a procession headed by the victim, after whom came successively the *pratiprasthātṛi*, the *adhvaryu*, and the householder, the householder holding on to the *adhvaryu*, the *adhvaryu* to the *pratiprasthātṛi*, and the latter touching the animal with a spit. The victim, having been laid with its head towards the west and its feet towards the north, was smothered or strangled, its body cut up, and the members offered in detail upon the *vēdi* with oblations, etc.

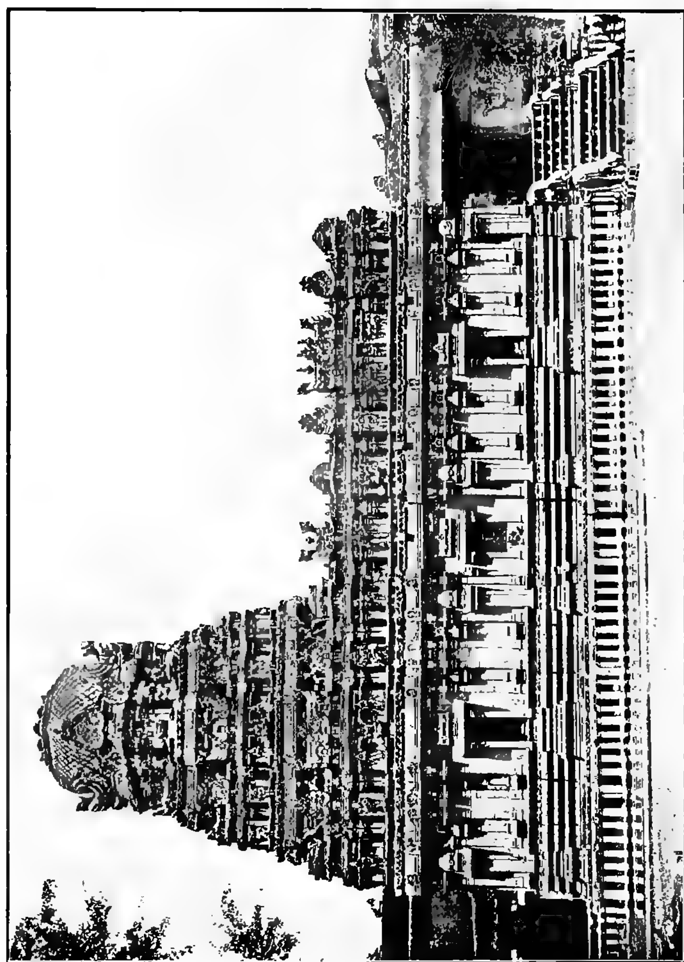
12. The Śrauta rituals include also a large number of ceremonies (*ishṭis*) to celebrate special events, such as the birth of a son, or to ensure the fulfilment of particular wishes, such as that for long life, or to divine future happenings, such as rainfall. They are of miscellaneous character and origin, but for convenience may be grouped under the head of *havir-yajñas.*

We now proceed to outline the *sōma-saṃsthās*, the various rituals for the Sōma-offering and the liturgies connected therewith.

13. *Agni-shṭōma*, or *Jyōtir-agni-shṭōma*, is the simplest of the Sōma liturgies, and occupied one *sutyā* day, in which the Sōma was pressed and offered thrice, preceded by several days of preparation (*upasad*, "session"). On the last of the *upasad* days a buck goat was sacrificed to Agni-Sōma, and during the day of pressing cattle were offered to Agni (*kratu-paśu* or *savanīya-paśu*),[1]

[1] Besides this sacrifice of single victims, an *aikādaśinī ijyā*, or sacrifice of eleven animals, was sometimes performed. The rites varied; thirteen sacrificial posts (*yūpas*) were set up. There are six other primary forms of the Agni-shṭōma, which vary in the number of victims and other details, viz. the *atyagnishṭōma*, *ukthya*, *shōḍaśin*, *vājapēya* (see below, § 18), *atirātra*, and *aptōr-yāma*.

besides which one or three barren young cows were immolated after the sacrificer's bath. A hut was built, in which the householder conducting the sacrifice lived for several days, sometimes even for a year, performing the *dīkshā*, or consecration; his hair and nails were cut, his food and drink were limited, he carried a staff and the skin of a black antelope, and clasped his hands; no one might pronounce his name or touch him; in various respects he was under strict restraint, and he was debarred from connubial relations with his wife, who was lodged in an adjacent hut under similar conditions. Stalks of the Sōma plant were symbolically purchased by a Brahman in exchange for a cow, and were then brought by the priests in a cart. The Sōma was received as a guest, and in its honour an *ātithyēshṭi* or "hospitality-sacrifice" was held, followed by the *tānū-naptra* rite, in which the priests, touching butter from the *ātithyēshṭi*, made a compact of mutual loyalty. The *āgnīdhra* having brought boiling water (*madantī*), which was touched by all, the householder proceeded to intensify the austerities of his *dīkshā*, tightening his girdle, clasping his hands more closely, and taking only warm milk for nourishment. At this point were held the *pravargya* rites (below, § 14) and the special ceremonies of the *upasad* days, the latter a series of oblations with recitation of sayings referring to Agni and various myths. In the middle day of the *upasads* was made a *mahā-vēdi* or great place of sacrifice, and upon it was brought the Sōma in the special carts, called *havir-dhānas*, over which a tent was now spread. In the midst of the hut, which stood three steps east of the western end of the *vēdi*, a log of *udumbara* wood (Ficus glomerata) was set up, and the hut was covered with mats. In front of the axle of the right-hand cart were made four sounding-holes (*uparavas*), to increase the noise of the falling Sōma-juice; they were separate above and joined below, and over them were laid two



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(*see page 243*)

boards, upon which was spread a red hide, on which the pressing-stones were placed. In the hut were made six fire-hearths (*dhishṇyas*) for the officiating *hōtṛi*, *maitrāvaruṇa*, *brāhmaṇāchchhaṃsin*, *nēshṭri*, *pōtṛi*, and *achchhāvāka*; and outside the hut, to the right of the *vēdi*, was the *mārjalīya* hearth for cleansing the utensils, opposite which was a hut for the *āgnīdhrīya* fire. After dedicatory and other rites the family and priests came in procession to offer the goat to Agni-Sōma, and with some further rites the *dīkshā* ended. The night was passed by the householder in watching over the Sōma by the *āgnīdhrīya* fire on the carts, while the priests remained by the former. The next morning brought the great day. After preparation, a preliminary pressing of the Sōma was made to fill the *upāṃśu-graha* or bowls offered in silence, followed by the "great pressing" or *mahābhishava*. The juice of the Sōma fell into a jar full of water, from which the *unnētṛi* (above, § 3) poured it into the vat belonging to the *hōtṛi*, whence the householder poured it through a filter of wool laid over a tub; the various cups (*grahas*) were then filled with it. The filtering was accompanied by oblations and hymns (*pavamāna-stōtras*), which were preceded by a procession of the priests, who stepped along one holding the other, after which they sat down to sing. They then returned to the hut, and cakes (*purōḍāśas*) and cups of Sōma were offered, followed by special libations (*hōtrās*) brought by the *adhvaryu* from the vats of the different priests. After a recitation by the *achchhāvāka* more cups of Sōma were offered, after which came an oblation to Agni. The ritual was much the same in the midday service; but in the latter an extra offering was made of *dadhi-gharma*, sour milk boiled on the *āgnīdhrīya* fire. In the evening also the ceremonies were similar. The sacrifice of animals which had been begun in the morning service was now concluded, and an offering made to the deceased ancestors, followed

by the singing of hymns led by the *prastōtṛi*. The householder and his wife then bathed, washed one another's back, and put on new clothes ; oblations were made and a barren cow offered to Mitra and Varuṇa, etc.

14. *Pravargya* (above, § 13) seems to have been originally an independent rite, which was later attached to the liturgies of the Sōma at certain stages, concerning which authorities are at variance. It consisted of milk heated in an earthen pot or *mahā-vīra*, which was offered morning and evening during the *upasad* days. Three of these pots, a span in size and made of three or more rings, narrowed in the middle, together with several other vessels, some of them of peculiar shapes, were constructed of clay from a spot east of the Āhavanīya fire. The chief pot, covered with a golden plate, and standing upon one of silver, was laid on a pile of earth, surrounded by fire, and fanned with a fan of black goatskin by the *adhvaryu*, *āgnīdhra*, and *pratiprasthātṛi*, while the other two pots stood on a chair covered with a black goat's skin east of the Āhavanīya. When the chief pot was sufficiently heated, it was taken up, and butter and milk of a cow and a goat were poured into it. A cake called *rauhiṇa* was offered by the *pratiprasthātṛi*—to Day in the morning and to Night in the evening—and the hot milk presented to the Aśvins. The pot was then filled with boiling sour milk, which was offered in the different quarters of space ; a *rauhiṇa* cake was again presented, and hymns sung. Finally the sacrificial utensils were arranged so as to represent the form of a man. The householder for whom this rite was performed had to observe strict restraints for a year previously, and for a year after it he might eat no meat, drink from no earthen vessel, and visit no black woman.

15. *Viśva-jit* was another one-day ritual of Sōma-pressing. After bathing the householder and his wife clothed themselves in the hides of red calves without

the ears and tails, and the former passed twelve nights in various places with a spade of reed or *udumbara* wood, a fillet on his head, eating only fruit and roots. The fees given to the Brahmans were 1000 cows and 100 horses; some even prescribe the surrender of the householder's whole estate, with the exception of the eldest son's share.

16. *Vrātya-stōmas* were four rites for the benefit of *vrātyas*, persons of brahmanic origin who for three generations had abandoned the practice of reciting the *sāvitrī* (above, i. § 13), or perhaps members of non-brahmanic families whom it was considered desirable to bring into the brahmanic fold.[1] The four *vrātya-stōmas* conferred the rights of intercourse and intermarriage with Brahmans and the power to perform brahmanic rites upon four classes of these *vrātyas*, viz. musicians and dancers, persons of ill repute, persons of low standing, and impotent old men respectively. The man chosen as master of the sacrifice (*gṛiha-pati*) to represent his class was either the richest of them, or the most learned, or—the most disreputable. He wore the skins of a black and a white ram tied together, with peculiar accessories, which after the rite were given as fee to an inferior Brahman from Magadha or to *vrātyas* still unredeemed.

17. Among the other numerous one-day rituals of Sōma may be mentioned the *Sādyaḥkras*, *Sarva-svāra*, and *Bṛihaspati-sava*. There were six *Sādyaḥkras*, and the ceremonies of each of them, including the preliminary *upasad* and *dīkshā*, were performed in one day. A field of barley or rice, in seed or ripe, took the place of the *vēdi*, a threshing-floor or dust-heap that of the *uttara-vēdi*, a plough-shaft that of the sacrificial post. The priests

[1] The Atharva-vēda (xv. 1 foll.) gives a lively description of one of these vagabond *vrātyas*, who seems to have greatly resembled some modern Śaiva Yogis. He travels in a bullock-cart, with a harlot, a musician (*māgadha*), two couriers, and two footmen, and professes Śaiva magic with great fluency.

stood at considerable distances (the *udgātṛi* in the north, the *brahman* in the south, the *hōtṛi* in the east, and the *adhvaryu* in the west), and they were brought together in a cart, on which were skins of fresh milk, which was converted into sacrificial butter by a primitive process of shaking. The ritual thus bore the stamp of archaic rustic conditions, and each *sādyaḥkra* had a definite magic purpose. The *Sarva-svāra* was offered by a person desiring to die, who sat entirely covered up, with his face towards the south, upon a black skin. The *Bṛihaspati-sava* was conducted by a person who was ambitious for priestly distinction ; "sympathetic magic" was applied to this end, for he was treated with a show of great respect and styled *sthapati*, and made no reply to the salutations addressed to him.

18. *Vājapēya* was a rite performed by men of the three higher castes to obtain social promotion, under the form of a one-day Sōma-pressing, and might be held either by itself or as the sixth day of the *sarva-mēdha* (below, § 22). It comprised thirteen or more days of *dīkshā* and at least three *upasad* days followed by the day of Sōma-pressing. In addition to the victims usual for the *agni-shṭōma* (ii. § 13) a speckled cow was offered to the Maruts and seventeen hornless buck goats to Prajā-pati. The householder, his wife, and the priests wore golden crowns. At the midday Sōma-pressing a symbolic race took place, for which the course, seventeen bow-shots long, was measured out by a Kshatriya. Three horses were yoked in the householder's war-chariot, and a fourth bridled, and sixteen other cars, with teams of four horses, were brought out. A chariot-wheel of *udumbara* wood (Ficus glomerata) was fixed upon a post ; a Brahman mounted the latter and during the race turned the wheel towards the right, singing a *sāma*, while seventeen drums were beaten on the *vēdi*. The householder first drove past the goal, after which he came back, harnessed the fourth horse

with the other three, and gave the team to the *adhvaryu* ; the other sixteen teams he gave to the other priests. When the Sōma was bought (above, ii. § 13), seventeen cups of *surā* (pp. 174, 175) were purchased from a "long-haired man" in return for lead, and filtered through a hair sieve ; these were used alternately with the cups of Sōma. Honey was also offered in a golden cup. The householder held a dialogue with his wife referring to their mounting to heaven, in token of which he climbed up the sacrificial post, which was covered with seventeen robes, and bore on its top a seat, upon which he sat. Descending thence, he sat upon a throne, and received a consecratory sprinkling with water, milk, and sometimes various kinds of food, from which, however, one was excluded from which he was thenceforth bound to abstain. He was then thrice hailed as *samrāj*, "emperor," and the ceremony ended with seventeen *ujjitis* or speeches of victory and libations.

19. *Rāja-sūya* was a ceremony for the dedication of a Kshatriya king. It was held in the spring or autumn, and was preceded by rites extending over a year. After various ceremonies, in which the chief persons of the state took part, the *dīkshā* was performed usually in one day, followed by three *upasad* days and one day of Sōma-pressing (on the first of Chaitra, if the Rāja-sūya was held in spring). After due preparations and oblations the anointing chrism was compounded of seventeen liquids (water from the river Sarasvatī, water from the matrix of a cow, rain-drops, water that had flowed up-stream and down-stream, etc.), filtered through two sieves, and poured into vessels of *palāśa* (Butea frondosa), *udumbara* (Ficus glomerata), *nyagrōdha* (Ficus indica) and *aśvattha* (Ficus religiosa). The king, wearing a turban, a linen robe embroidered with figures of the sacrificial vessels, a red robe, and a cloak, received from the *adhvaryu* a strung bow and three arrows, and proclaimed himself king in three sentences (*āvid*). The

adhvaryu put a piece of copper into the mouth of a long-haired man sitting beside the hut, in order to remove evil spirits. The king then walked towards the various quarters of space and symbolically ascended them, typifying the god Indra; and in the same character he trod upon a tiger-skin near the anointing vessels and kicked away a piece of lead lying on its back, symbolising the act of Indra in spurning away the head of the demon Namuchi (Ṛig-vēda, vi. 20, 6, viii. 14, 13). He was then anointed by the *adhvaryu* or *purō-hita* (chaplain), a kinsman, a Kshatriya, and a Vaiśya; and the *hōtṛi*, sitting on a golden cushion, recited the tale of Śunaḥ-śēpa (Aitarēya-brāhmaṇa, vii. 3, 13–18). He then made three steps on the skin, symbolising the mythical three strides of Vishṇu, poured the remainder of the anointing chrism into the *palāśa* vessel, and gave it to his favourite son with a prayer that his work and power might be continued in the latter, for which the *adhvaryu* made an oblation with symbolic ceremonies. Then came a symbolic foray. 100 or more cows, belonging to kinsmen of the king, were led to the north of the Āhavanīya fire; the king mounted a chariot with four horses, drove into the herd, touched one animal with the end of his bow, declared them his property, and indemnified the owners. According to Lāṭyāyana (ix. 1, 14 ff.), some feeble kinsmen were brought with their property; he seized upon the latter, and shot arrows at them, which they brought back to him with a prayer for his success; two-thirds of their goods were given to the priests and sharers in the *daśa-pēya* sacrifice connected with the Rāja-sūya, and one-third, together with some villages, was restored to them; they were henceforth reckoned as Kshatriyas, but could not be anointed as kings. The Kaushītakis simplified the rite by prescribing that the king should mount a horse and turn towards the quarters of space in token of conquest.

The king then sat upon a throne, and received from the *adhvaryu* five dice, typifying the five quarters of space. The priests beat him behind slowly and softly with sticks from pure trees. A hut was raised, and gold laid in the middle of it, upon which the *adhvaryu* after an oblation threw the dice, calling upon them to make the king a firm centre of his stock. After sacrifice the *adhvaryu* exclaimed, "Cast dice for a cow!" and the symbolic game began, the priests receiving as fee the oxen that had drawn the car bearing the household fire. The usual rites of a one-day Sōma liturgy then proceeded, with some modifications, after which came the bath and the *daśa-pēya* sacrifices. The latter, if the Rāja-sūya was held in spring, began on the 7th of the waxing fortnight of Chaitra, and consisted of liturgies of the Sōma, which was brewed in ten vats, to each of which were allotted ten priests. The series of ceremonies ended with various other rites, including a vow under which the king's hair could not be cut until the *kēśa-vapanīya* held on the full moon of Jyaishṭha a year later.

20. The next class of Sōma-liturgies that calls for attention is that of *ahīnas*, which usually comprised from two to twelve days of Sōma-pressing preceded by twelve *upasad* days, the total ceremony occupying not more than a month, and ending with an *atirātra* (above, ii. § 13). The most important of them are those described below, §§ 21 ff.

21. *Aśva-mēdha* was a ceremony performed by kings to ensure the welfare of their kingdom, and usually began on the eighth or ninth of the waxing fortnight of Phālguna. Rice porridge (*brahmaudana*) was cooked for the priests, and a largesse of 4000 cows and 400 pieces of gold was given to them. The king held a silent vigil, wearing jewels, and accompanied by his four wives, with each of whom were 100 damsels of various ranks, gentlewomen, and high officers. In the

evening, after the *agni-hōtra* (ii. § 6) had been offered, he sat with his face towards the north on the Gārhapatya hearth between the legs of the second queen, observing celibacy during the night. Next morning, after offerings, a chosen stallion was brought out; a bridle smeared with butter of the *brahmaudana* was fastened upon his head, and he was washed at a standing pool. A man of low birth killed a four-eyed dog (*i.e.* a dog with dark-coloured patches over each eye) with a club of *sidhraka* wood, and passed it on a mat under the horse, while the king pronounced a formula, and the horse was brought to the fire and dried with due recitation of charms. Cakes (*purōḍāśas*) were offered daily to Savitṛi, and for each sacrifice 100 pieces of gold or silver were given to the priests. After the third of these offerings the horse was let loose towards the north-east, to roam about at his own free will, in company with 100 old horses. He was guarded by a troop of armed youths of the same families as those of the queens' ladies, who protected him from harm and kept him from bathing in unsuitable places or consorting with mares. Golden seats were then placed on the south of the *vēdi* for the king, *hōtṛi*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, and *udgātṛi*, and the *hōtṛi* began the recitation of the *pāriplava*, a series of legends of the king's ancestors, which was spread over a year, and was every day followed by praises of the king and the sacrifices, sung to the accompaniment of the lute. These recitations and the previous rites (the king's vigil between the queen's knees, offerings to Savitṛi, etc.) were repeated daily for a year (or from a fortnight to six months, according to other authorities), and when this period was over the horse was brought back, and the *dīkshā* or consecration of the king began. Sacrifices were offered for three days on the east; twenty-one posts were erected, to each of which was bound a victim to Agni-Sōma. Then Sōma was pressed for three days. On

the second day, after the singing of hymns, the horse was yoked to a golden car with three other horses, all decked with gold, and he was led to a pool to bathe. On his return the three senior queens, according to their rank, anointed respectively his fore, middle, and hinder parts, and entwined each 101 golden ornaments in his mane and tail, uttering respectively the formulae *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ*, and *svaḥ*. He was then given the remains of some grain that had been offered by night, and the *brahman* and *hōtṛi* mutually propounded to one another *brahmōdyas* or poetical riddles. The horse and sixteen other animals were then bound to the post next to the fire; to each of the other posts were attached fifteen victims; and in each of the spaces between the posts were placed thirteen wild animals, which, however, were released after the performance of the *pary-agni-karaṇa* (i. § 16). The horse was then stifled in robes. The chief queen approached him; a cloak having been thrown over them both, she performed a repulsively obscene act symbolising the transmission to her of his fructifying powers. She then arose, and the horse's body was cut up, the other three queens pointing out with a hundred and one metal needles apiece the way for the sacrificial knives. Before the caul was offered, further *brahmōdyas* were held between the *hōtṛi* and *adhvaryu*, the *brahman* and *udgātṛi*, and the king and *adhvaryu*. The blood was boiled, and subsequently offered; the flesh was roasted. Various rites concluded the ceremony, and on each of the three days the king bathed.

22. *Purusha-mēdha* was a liturgy similar in many respects to the *aśva-mēdha*, but of still greater efficacy in influencing the powers of heaven, for in it a man took the place of a horse. This human victim was a Brahman or Kshatriya, who was purchased for 1000 cows and 100 horses; he was set at liberty for a year, during which, however, he was debarred from access

to women, and was then slaughtered with much the same details as the horse. Human sacrifice was opposed to the spirit of the Brahmans, and in course of time was suppressed by them wherever possible within the pale of their church; but in the earlier period they had not sufficient power to do away with the custom, and they therefore canonised it, as they did with certain other irregularities.

The highest degree of sacrifice was reached in the *sarva-mēdha*, where in theory the sacrificer surrendered everything and retired into a hermitage.

23. *Śabalī-hōma*, formally connected with the *ahīna* class of Sōma liturgies, was in origin a rustic cult of the oracle of the forest. A man who desired increase of cattle cut his hair and beard on the first day of spring, dressed himself in a hitherto unused garment, and for twelve nights lay on an uncovered and slightly raised place, drinking only hot milk. During the time he spoke little, and never went far from the spot. A friend kept him company, and pronounced the *praishas* or cues for the sacrificial rites. Towards the morning of the twelfth day he offered honey and milk with a formula to the forest-goddess Śabalī, after which he went into the woods, gathered a bunch of grass, and thrice called loudly "Śabalī!" If his cry was answered by any animal but a dog or an ass, the omen was good. If no answer was heard, he had to repeat the summons next year; if after three such trials no reply was vouchsafed, or if a dog or ass responded to his cry, the omens were against him.

24. *Pañcha-śāradīya* was an *ahīna* extending over five days, and repeated in five successive years, beginning on the seventh or eighth of the waxing fortnight of Āśvayuja, when seventeen male and seventeen female animals were offered to the Maruts. The males were spared for five years, and in the month Kārttika of the sixth year were slaughtered as victims to Indra-Marut.

25. *Sattras* were various forms of *ahīna* liturgies performed by associations of priests for the promotion of their own interests in heaven, therein differing from the majority of Śrauta rites, which were conducted by them for the benefit of a householder, nobleman, or king. The fundamental scheme of the *sattras* is that of a *dvādaśāha* or ceremony of twelve days, comprising a *prāyaṇīya atirātra* (one day), a *pṛishṭhya shaḍ-aha* (six days), *chhandōmas* (three days), an *avivākya* (one day), and an *udayanīya atirātra* (one day); for the *chhandōmas* and *avivākya* might be substituted four days of *chhāndōmikas*. This programme might be extended by additions, such as the *gavām ayana*, which, beginning with a consecration (*dīkshā*), lasted for a year, and was divided into two halves, with a day in the middle called *vishuvant*, and ended with a *mahā-vrata* and an *udayanīya*. The *mahā-vrata* had several interesting features characteristic of popular cults. Among other ceremonies, we may note that the *hōtṛi* sat on a swing and others on benches, cushions, etc., while the *dīkshitas* or consecrated persons were alternately praised and abused; a common harlot and a Brahman student reviled one another; an Ārya and a Śūdra symbolically fought for a round white skin, and of course the Ārya won; harlotry was carried on behind a curtain; armed warriors stabbed with arrows the skin of a barren cow, etc. There were also other *sattras* extending over a year, such as the *ādityā-nām ayana* and *aṅgirasām ayana*; and some were even more protracted, for example the *mahā-sattra*, which lasted over twelve years, not to mention some of which the reputed length savours of imagination.

26. *Yāt-sattras* were pilgrimages along the banks of sacred rivers, during which Sōma-liturgies were performed. The *sārasvata* proceeded along the right bank of the river Sarasvatī from Vinaśana, the spot where it disappears, to Plaksha Prāsravaṇa, where it rises

from the earth, the pilgrims taking with them movable apparatus for the Sōma-ritual. First, one hundred young cows in calf with a bull, which were to increase tenfold, were driven into a wood. On the seventh day of the waxing fortnight of Chaitra the consecration (*dīkshā*) was held at Vinaśana, with an *atirātra* and oblations. A *brahman* or *adhvaryu*, standing near the Āhavanīya fire, threw a stick up the river-bank; at the spot where it fell a Gārhapatya fire was set up, from which a new Āhavanīya was made. They stayed on this spot until the next morning, when the same process was repeated. This went on day after day, with divers rites at various places on the way, until they arrived at Plaksha Prāsravaṇa. There an oblation was offered to Agni Kāma, and a mare and a woman who had lately born a child were given to a worthy pilgrim. In much the same manner was held the *dārshadvata* or pilgrimage along the Dṛishadvatī, as a preliminary to which the householder conducting the pilgrimage herded for a year the oxen of a priest or religious preceptor, during another year kept up a fire in the Naitandhana (a dry pond near the Sarasvatī), or, if he maintained the sacred fires in his house, offered *agni-hōtras* (ii. § 6), and in the third year performed an *agny-ādhēya* (ii. § 5) at a place called Parīṇah, in Kurukshētra, the plain north-west of Delhi.

27. *Sautrāmaṇī* is a ceremony which may appropriately be described after the Sōma-liturgies, as one of the objects for which it might be performed was the cure of persons who had become sick through drinking too much Sōma. Probably it was often required for this purpose. Another object to which it might be directed was to enlist the help of the gods for Brahmans, Kshatriyas, or Vaiśyas in their ambitions. In commemoration of the legend that the Aśvins healed Indra when he was sick from excessive indulgence in Sōma, offerings of *surā*, an intoxicating drink

brewed from grain, were made to these deities and Sarasvatī. The ceremony had two forms, the *kaukilī sautrāmaṇī*, which was independent, and the *charakā*, which was held in connection with other liturgies. The essential features of both were the same. Barley, rice, and roasted grain for the *surā* were symbolically purchased from a long-haired man or eunuch, in exchange for lead, wool, and threads. These were ground up, with certain roots to assist fermentation, and compounded with the liquid poured off from two portions of porridge made from rice and *śyāmāka* (Panicum frumentaceum) boiled in water; and this compound was mixed again with more of the original meal and leaven, and put away for three days, during which milk, etc., were added. On the north and south *vēdis* were made. The *surā* was purified in a strainer over a skin beside the southern *vēdi*, and passed into a vessel of *palāśa* wood, and filtered through a sieve of cow-hair and horse-hair, while on the northern *vēdi* milk was filtered through a strainer made of the hair of sheep and goats. The *surā* and milk were then alternately offered in cups of *aśvattha*, *udumbara*, or *nyagrōdha* wood (ii. § 19) to the Aśvins, Sarasvatī, and Indra, a different kind of meal being added in each cup; and with the *surā* were mixed hairs of wolves, tigers, and lions, symbolising vigour, fury, and boldness. A red-brown buck-goat was sacrificed to the Aśvins, a ram to Sarasvatī, and a bull to Indra. After other offerings, including some of peculiar form to deceased ancestors, the householder for whom the sacrifice was performed took his seat upon a black skin spread upon a stool made of plaited *muñja* (Saccharum munja) between the two *vēdis*, a silver plate being put under his left foot as a symbolic protection against death, and a gold plate under his right foot or on his head to ward off lightning. After thirty-two cupfuls of grease had been offered, and he

had been anointed with various scents, the remainder of the grease was poured over him, so that it ran down to his mouth. He was then lifted up by serving-men to the height of the knee, the navel, and the mouth successively, after which he stepped down upon a black skin, with the words, "I establish myself in dominion," etc. A thirty-third cup of grease was then offered and hymns were sung; he bathed, and an oblation of milk was presented to Mitra and Varuṇa and a bull sacrificed to Indra.

28. *Agni-chayana*, the construction of a fire-altar, was begun on the first day of the waning fortnight of Phālguna or on the new moon of Māgha. Five victims were then slaughtered, a man, a horse, an ox, a sheep, and a goat. The goat's carcase was offered as a sacrifice; the other bodies were thrown into the water from which later the clay was taken to make the fire-pot and bricks of the altar. The clay was laid in a trench behind the Āhavanīya fire, and between these was placed the earth of an anthill with a cavity. To the right of the Āhavanīya stood a bridled horse and ass and a goat, which the *adhvaryu*, accompanied by the householder and *brahman*, drove to the clay in the trench, at which he looked through the cavity in the anthill, after addressing a formula to an *anaddhā-purusha* (possibly a dummy). The horse put its hoof on the clay, and on the footprint an oblation was offered. The clay was then carried off in a black antelope's skin, and the animals after their return were set free and sent towards the north-east, after hair had been cut from the goat to mix with the clay, which was also strengthened with shingle. From the clay the householder's senior wife made a brick called *ashāḍhā*, the size of which was measured by her husband's foot, and he (or she) then made the fire-pot (*ukhā*), which was baked with three bricks called *viśva-jyōtis*. This pot was made in the most archaic manner,



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(*see page 244*)

without a wheel, of rings of clay stiffened with hair and sherds, with a fillet round the neck, and a pair of knobs rudely imitating female breasts, like the jars found in the graves of prehistoric Europe. Fourteen days after this the consecration (*dīkshā*) took place, and thenceforth the fire was kept in the pot, which was filled with *muñja* grass and hemp. After tying round his neck with a hempen cord a round gold plate with twenty-one studs sewn into the hair of a black and white antelope's skin, which hung down above his navel, the householder lifted the fire-pot with due circumstance towards the east, north-east, and south-east, and laid it upon a chair, where it was worshipped (*vātsapra*); and this rite was daily repeated for some time, even for a year. On the last day of the *dīkshā* were made the *vēdi* and brick altar. On the first *upasad* day was prepared the Gārhapatya hearth, for which fire was brought from the fire-pot, and an *agni-kshētra* or fire-field round the altar was enclosed with 261 or 394 foundation stones, ploughed, and planted with every kind of grain, except one, from which the householder had henceforth to abstain. In the midst of this field was built an *uttara-vēdi* (above, ii. § 7) upon a bunch of *kuśa* grass. The preliminaries of a Sōma-liturgy then began, and the first layer of bricks for the altar was constructed. They were brought on a red bull's hide to the south of the Agni-kshētra, preceded by a horse, which was made to walk over the outline of the altar and along the furrows of the field, and to sniff the laid bricks, after which he was sent away towards the north-east. Upon the bunch of grass in the centre were laid, one upon the other, a lotus-leaf, the gold plate, an upright *hiraṇya-purusha* or "golden man" (probably an image), and a porous tile; in front of the tile were laid various bricks, ending with the *ashāḍhā* mentioned above, and on the south, facing the "golden man," a live tortoise;

on the north of the tile were put a mortar and pestle, and upon it the fire-pot, in the midst of which was the human victim's head, while the heads of the ox and goat were placed on its right, and those of the horse and sheep on its left, each with seven pieces of gold, the head of a snake being sometimes added. The lowest layer was thus completed, 1950 bricks being used; and over it were laid four other strata, the total number of bricks in the altar being 10,800. As the number of *upasad* days might vary between three and one year, the time of building the layers of bricks was varied accordingly. The first important offering made upon the altar was the *śata-rudrīya-hōma*, 425 oblations to Rudra and his troop of spirits, consisting of wild plants or goat's milk. After other rites there was held an *agni-praṇayana*, in which the *adhvaryu* or *pratiprasthātṛi* with much ceremony laid a brand on the porous tile of the altar and fed it with wood. Other rites followed, leading up to the ceremonies of Sōma-pressing.

CHAPTER V

NON-VEDIC RITUALS, YŌGA, AND MAGIC

I

WHAT chiefly distinguishes the non-Vedic from the Vedic rituals is the fact that most of the former are strictly a *pūjā* or λατρεία, service of the god as a person, and usually too an εἰδωλολατρεία, service of him in the form of an image, idolatry. The god as a rule is treated exactly as though he were a noble or royal person. He is represented by an image, into which his divine presence is imported by a rite of consecration, and in this form he dwells among men in a habitation, the temple, where he is attended by a priest or priests waiting upon him in the same manner as lackeys and courtiers wait upon a king.[1] In the morning he is awakened with hymns, washed, and dressed in robes of state; food is presented to him, of which his servants partake later; his suppliants enter his presence with gifts, even the poorest bringing a flower, and with obeisances of humility; and at times he is carried out to take the air, or to bathe in the river, or generally to delight the eyes of the faithful, in a car of state. Among other forms of worship may be mentioned the custom of swinging lights with an accompaniment of psalms (vernacularly styled *ārtī*, in Sanskrit *ārātrika*), and the processions of hymn-singers or *bhajanas*. These are the nearest approach to congregational worship that can be found in India.

[1] The Tamil word for a temple, *kōvil*, literally means "king's house."

While departing widely in these respects from the ancient rites, large numbers of Vishṇuites and Śivaites in matters outside the temple-ritual still follow the old tradition. Many of them, especially the Brahmans, observe a daily ritual of prayer and ceremony that is based on the Vedic model and contains many Vedic formulae, and their liturgies for marriages, births, and *śrāddhas* to deceased ancestors are of the same pattern. For example, the daily offices of the orthodox in the North are usually of the following type. On arising in the early morning the worshipper recites devotional verses or *prātaḥ-smaraṇa* to his god (Śiva or Vishṇu, as the case may be), and to the Earth, and then proceeds to ease nature with due ceremony outside the village. He sips water from his hand and touches various parts of his body, scrubs his teeth with a twig of a tree with an astringent sap, recites a formula, and bathes in the river or pool with much formality. He then decorates his forehead with his sectarian mark,[1] and proceeds to recite the prayers of the morning *sandhyā*. For this he takes his seat, preferably on *kuśa* grass, holding in his hand a bundle of *kuśa* or *kāśa* (Saccharum spontaneum), or a piece of gold, or some other sacred object, fastens up his hair, sips water as before with formulae and mystic gestures, and then after three suppressions of the breath, each followed by a mystic meditation, he recites the Gāyatrī verse; thereupon he sips water, recites Vedic formulae and verses, and concludes by sipping water again. After

[1] A common Vishṇuite fore-head mark is the *ūrdhva-puṇḍra*, two perpendicular lines joined at the bottom in a curve. Vaḍagaḷai Vishṇuites have a third central stroke; so have the Tengaḷais, with whom the line joining the two outer strokes meets them at right angles, and a fourth perpendicular line is added beneath the former, continuing the central stroke downwards. Mādhva Vishṇuites wear a thick semi-circle open on top, with a dot in the middle. Śivaites commonly display three perpendicular lines, the *tripuṇḍra*. The Vishṇuite mark is usually made with some mineral pigment, clay from Dwarka being especially prized; the Śivaites use ash of burnt cow-dung.

this comes the ritual of *tarpaṇa*, or feeding of the gods and spirits with handfuls of water mixed with barley, the worshipper sitting with his face turned first towards the east and then towards the north; then he feeds the "Fathers" or deceased ancestors and ancestresses, to each of whom he offers with the left hand three handfuls of water mixed with sesam seeds, bending the left knee and facing the south. This is followed by a series of formulae and hymns, after which comes the modern *pūjā*, in which he worships the god with incense, lights, food, betel, fans, an umbrella, a mirror, dancing, circumambulation, and obeisance, accompanied by hymns, chiefly modern. Similar *sandhyā* rituals are performed at midday and evening.

The Yōga and Tantras, of which we have already spoken (above, pp. 16, 17), contribute some elements to many rituals. The Yōga deals copiously in mystic syllables and formulae, which are supposed to be informed with spiritual power, and the Yogi practises certain bodily postures and exercises (some of them very loathsome) which are imagined to strengthen his soul in mystic potency. All these have been taken into the service of many cults, especially those of the Śivaite persuasion, in which they often play a considerable part. The Tantric rituals, which contain many similar features, have likewise affected a goodly number of more reputable cults.

An interesting example of the pouring of new sectarian wine into old Vedic bottles, combining therewith economy and despatch, is furnished by a Śivaite ritual described at length in the Agni-purāṇa (lxxiv–lxxvi), of which the outline is as follows. The worshipper enters the temple with his right foot foremost, with due formulae and ceremonies. As he enters, he projects the mental image of the *astra-mantra* or "weapon-charm" upon the top of the doorway (a rite known also to some of the Vishṇuites), uttering

the spell "Oṃ hāṃ to Brahman, lord of the dwelling!" He then goes in silence to the Ganges with a pitcher and balls of sun-dried rice, and there bathes, washes the rice, and repeats over it the Gāyatrī and "heart-charm." He then takes the rice with perfumes, etc., to the temple, and there invokes the presence of the god, and performs the *bhūta-śuddhi* or mystic purification of the five elements of his body by mystic meditations and exercises. After many such rites and imaginary envisagements of divine powers he offers with the "heart-charm" water for washing the god's feet (*pādya*), and again water for him to sip. On the head of the image is placed the *arghya*, consisting of flowers, bunches of *dūrvā* grass, and grains of sun-dried rice; and flowers, perfumes, etc., are offered. The idol is then rubbed with salt and mustard seed, sprinkled with *arghya* water, flowers, rice-grains, milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, and sugar, bathed, and dried. An *argha* offering is then made to it, and it is smeared with white sandal-paste. Bdellion is burned before it, a bell rung, water offered for it to sip, lights waved, and water and food presented with much ceremony. The worshipper then retires to another chamber, and there by means of spells performs *in imagination* the Vedic rite of Agni-hōtra (above, p. 158), conceiving in his mind's eye the various processes in the creation of the Fire-god as rites of *garbhādhāna*, *puṃ-savana*, *sīmantōnnayana*, and *jāta-karma* (above, pp. 137 f.), which are followed by oblations to Vishṇu, Śiva, and other deities in this fire. He then returns to the god, reports his work, and ceremoniously takes leave.

Other sects are even less conservative, and observe every conceivable variety of rules. The differences of Indian cults are innumerable in form as in content. As the religions of Hindustan range from the vaguest animism and fetish-worship to the deepest anthropomorphism, so their rituals vary from those of the

stately temples of Benares to those of the Mukkuvar, an unsophisticated tribe of the South who worship their goddess Bhagavatī with pious ribaldry and the extreme of physical filth.

Besides these *pūjās* to the gods in their own persons, there are countless rituals of all kinds in which sacred animals and objects representing them are adored. Cows, monkeys, and serpents, the *tulsī* or basil plant sacred to Vishṇu, the *vilva* tree (Aegle marmelos) appropriated to Śiva, the *pippala* or Ficus religiosa sanctified by the presence of Brahman, the *śāla-grāma*, a kind of ammonite from the Gandak river and sacred to Vishṇu, and countless other things, animate and inanimate, receive worship. Holy rivers, from the thrice sacred Ganges, are abundant; sacred places, usually discovered and advertised in much the same manner as the holiday resorts of Europe, are dotted all over India. Vast numbers of holy men also receive divine honours, either in their life, or after death; usually, but not always, these are devotees, and they are believed to be incarnations of a god. Such is the religious life of India to-day, and such it has been since the dawn of history.

II

Magic is the raw material of primitive ritual, and is still present to a greater or less degree in most of the liturgies of India. No less important in Indian life is secular magic—astrology, divination, necromancy, and every variety of the black art.

From the earliest ages India has been full of magic. Side by side with the official cults of the Ṛig-vēda and their liturgies, there existed among the Āryas a crowd of superstitions of every kind, of which abundant specimens are preserved in the Atharva-vēda. The latter contains 730 hymns, of which about five-sixths

are composed in a language and in metres very similar to those of the Ṛig-vēda; the rest are in a prose style like that of the Brāhmaṇas. The hymns of the Atharva-vēda are intimately connected with the domestic cults of the Āryas in the earliest days of Indian history, and especially with the cult of the household fire; hence many of them, if not all, are in substance at any rate no less ancient than the Ṛig-vēda, and as documents of primitive Aryan religion are even more valuable. Accordingly we are not surprised to find in its hymns not only a number of prayers for long life and removal of diseases, but also a vast quantity of spells to heal sickness, exorcise demons, and overpower enemies and sorcerers, love-charms (as a rule by no means innocent), formulae to encompass luck for women in various departments of married life, incantations in the service of royalty to secure the welfare of the kingdom and destroy enemies, etc. What is more remarkable is the amazing fertility of this primitive seed in India. Through generation after generation down to the present day it has continued to thrive and overspread with its noisome growth every part of life, ripening into rank harvests of pseudo-sciences. The spirit of the Atharva-vēda rules in every quarter. Even the Kauṭilīya, a sober manual of political science, thinks it necessary to supplement the arts of the statesman by those of the wizard, to which it consecrates three chapters. Astrology is still a prosperous and crowded profession, to which the whole population looks for guidance in its daily affairs; and there is even now a good market for the kindred, if less reputable, trade of the magician.

Dreams naturally offered a fertile field for the ingenuity of diviners. They were soon classified according to their supposed import, and rules were drawn up for averting the evil portended by ill-omened ones by means of lustratory offerings and recitations. Omens

were drawn from the flight of birds, which were often regarded as representing the spirits of deceased ancestors. Owls, pigeons, birds of black colour, and those that happened to fly from right to left were considered to betoken evil. Much significance was attached to natural phenomena, especially those of the atmosphere, such as meteors or lightning. It was believed to betoken a man's death if he saw his image with a wry head in a mirror or water, etc. Twitching in the body was also ominous: if in the right arm of a man or the left of a woman, it betokened union with a lover; if over the eyes, the attainment of some desired object. The success of an enterprise might be augured from the direction of the fall of a bamboo held horizontally or of a *kāmpīla*[1] twig laid on the head, from the direction of flames into which grain was thrown, or from that of the smoke from a fire into which grass-stalks were cast.[2]

The processes of magic were largely symbolical. For example, persons were bewitched by the magician making images of them in clay, wax, or dough, which he stabbed, melted, etc. Enemies were to be destroyed by breaking a stalk, with appropriate charms. If one kindled on a cross-road a fire of *bādhaka* wood and coals from a funeral pyre, sacrificed thereupon a fish and a partridge, crushed and mixed the charred bodies with various ingredients, and strewed the ashes on his enemy's house and bed, the latter would be driven out of the village. A man to heal himself of strangury might shoot an arrow; rainfall might be secured by pouring out butter and milk from a black cow. Another instance is the symbolic ascent of the regions of space in the Rājasūya (above, p. 167). Fever might be cured by applying a frog to the patient's body; by a converse or allopathic method, leprosy was sometimes treated by

[1] The Butea frondosa, or else the Mallotus philippensis.

[2] Compare also the Śabalī-hōma described above, p. 172. An ancient list of ominous occurrences and the rites for their lustration is given in the Shadviṃśa-brāhmaṇa, bk. v.

the use of black plants. The usual time for malignant rites was the night, their place often the cemetery, the forest, the cross road, or the field. Blood, the portion of the demons, played a large part in them; so did objects of red colour, symbolising blood. They were often preluded by a period of fasting and abstinence from sexual union, etc., and were performed facing the south (the home of demons and ghosts), the officiant turning from right to left, from north to south.

Lustratory and protective ceremonies were equally abundant. As antidotes to malignant spells metal rings were worn on the right hand, and amulets made from plants or from wood or gold were carried. The influence of demons might be counteracted by offering objects of little value (as the copper in the Rāja-sūya; above, p. 168), or of blood. Safety from uncanny powers might be secured by symbolical acts of lustration: thus the hands were dipped in water (but not in rain-water) in the sacrifices to deceased ancestors and friends, the mouth was rinsed out after an ill-omened dream. At a wedding the bride was washed from head to foot; her robe was given to her guardian, who hung it up in a wood or threw it into a cow-stall, and her bridal dress was given to a Brahman, who hung it on a tree. Fire was also used as an antidote to evil influences; the place of sacrifice was regularly secured against them by carrying a brand round it (*paryagni-karaṇa*). Cows had a lustratory influence; accordingly a cow was led round the spot where a pigeon had appeared. Crudely enough, even noises were credited with this effect; a gong was beaten when a child was suffering from the *śva-graha*,[1] in order to scare away the demon causing it.

A vast number of diseases were explained by this

[1] A disease of children, of which the chief symptoms were trembling, twitching, hair standing on end, biting the tongue, rumbling in the bowels, staring eyes, croup-like noises, etc.

convenient theory of possession by demons or *grahas*, especially in the case of children, and treated accordingly with charms and offerings, as well as medicaments. An interesting spirit of this kind is Naigamēsha—in the Jain scriptures styled Hari Nēgamēsī—a demon with the head of a goat or ram, who sometimes favours the birth of sons, sometimes exchanges unborn babes, and sometimes in his less amiable moods afflicts children with sickness. Hārītī, a female demon sometimes associated with smallpox, was also an important figure in the worship of the nursery; there is a touch of human pathos in the sculptures of the North-West and the paintings recently discovered in Turkestan, which depict her very much in the style of a Madonna, with babes playing about her arms and shoulders.[1] Medical writers name nine or twelve malignant spirits of this kind.

These examples of Hindu superstitions, taken almost at random from the early literature, might easily be multiplied to practically any extent from the same sources and from the copious "literature" that has sprung up in later times from that rank soil. But it is needless.

[1] Legend relates that she was a Yakshiṇī who used to devour human babes. The Buddha concealed one of her numerous progeny, and took advantage of her grief to point the moral. She thereupon became converted to the doctrine of the Buddha, and abandoned her heathen cannibalism, for which she received compensation in abundant sacrifices. She was much worshipped by childless women. There is a most beautiful sculpture from Sahr-i-bahlol (now No. 241 in the Peshawar Museum), representing her as enthroned by the side of Kubēra, the god of wealth, nursing one babe and surrounded by others.

CHAPTER VI

ASTRONOMY, GEOGRAPHY, AND COSMOGRAPHY

THERE are three stages in the history of Indian astronomy. The Vēdas, the Brāhmaṇas, and most of the literature based upon them shew a very rudimentary knowledge of the subject; their ideas are very crude, and few attempts are made to work them out in detail. In the second stage, of which the oldest documents are the Mahā-bhārata, the canonical books of the Jains and Buddhists, and some Sūtras of the brahmanic schools, we find the old fundamental ideas, but on the basis of these are built up elaborate theories of misguided ingenuity. Early in the present era, however, Hindu astronomy entered upon a third phase, in which it surrendered most of its traditional theories and adopted a system similar in most respects to that of the contemporary Greek schools. This third stage has lasted on with little change to the present day; we shall therefore consider it first.

I

According to the astronomers of the third period, the earth is a motionless sphere in the midst of space, around which the sun, moon, planets and stars travel in circular orbits. The celestial sphere completes its revolution in one sidereal day of 60 *nāḍikās* or 3600 *vināḍikās*, 30 of which revolutions make a sidereal month. The sun, moon, and planets, travelling from east to west, complete their revolution in a little more

than the sidereal day. The year is composed of twelve solar months, named Vaiśākha (April–May), Jyaishṭha (May–June), Āshāḍha (June–July), Śrāvaṇa (July–August), Bhādrapada or Praushṭhapada (August–September), Āśvina or Āśvayuja (September–October), Kārttika (October–November), Mārgaśīrsha or Āgrahāyana (November–December, reckoned earlier as the first month of the year), Pausha or Taisha (December–January), Māgha (January–February), Phālguna (February–March), Chaitra (March–April). The months Chaitra and Vaiśākha constitute the spring (*vasanta*), Jyaishṭha and Āshāḍha summer (*grīshma*), Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada the rainy season (*varshā*), Āśvina and Kārttika autumn (*śarad*), Mārgaśīrsha and Pausha winter (*hēmanta*), Māgha and Phālguna the cool season (*śiśira*); these are the "six seasons" (*ṛitus*). Each of these months begins with the entrance of the sun into one of the signs of the zodiac. These signs are named respectively Mēsha (Aries, near ζ Piscium), Vṛishabha (Taurus), Mithuna (Gemini), Karkaṭaka (Cancer), Siṃha (Leo), Kanyā (Virgo), Tulā (Libra), Vṛiśchika (Scorpio), Dhanus or Chāpa (Sagittarius), Makara (Capricornus), Kumbha (Aquarius), and Mīna (Pisces), the solar year beginning with the entrance of the sun into Mēsha. As, however, the precession of the equinoxes is disregarded in this connection, and the place of Mēsha determined as a sidereal sign, the Hindu solar year is not tropical but sidereal, being the time in which the earth makes one revolution round the sun in reference to the first point in Mēsha.

The true and the mean motions of the heavenly bodies were distinguished with some degree of accuracy. Their position in relation to the ecliptic and the celestial equator, the divergence of the latter, and the precession of the equinoxes[1] were approximately known. As the

[1] The precession of the equinoxes was calculated by the Sūrya-siddhānta to be 54″ annually; others reckoned it as 60″.

inclination of the moon's path to the ecliptic and the periods of the lunar nodes were fairly well understood, eclipses of the sun and moon could be calculated with tolerable certainty. Theories of epicycles, similar to those used by the Greek astronomers, and of eccentric circles were employed to calculate the true places of the heavenly bodies, and time was sexagesimally divided. The planets Mercury, Mars, Venus, Jupiter, and Saturn, and many stars were observed.[1] As the mean places of Mercury and Venus were believed to be the same as those of the sun, their mean courses were supposed to be equal in number to those of the sun. The elongation in the orbits of the planets was explained by a fantastic theory of invisible beings in the zodiac who draw the planets by ropes of air.

The dimensions of the earth were variously estimated. Ārya-bhaṭa (*circa* A.D. 500) reckoned its diameter at 1050 *yōjanas* (see Chapter VII, § 3), which corresponds with Eratosthenes' estimate. Brahma-gupta (A.D. 628) gave the circumference as 5000 *yōjanas*, corresponding to Aristotle's calculation, so that the diameter would be about 1581 *yōjanas*; the Sūrya-siddhānta (about A.D. 1000) estimated the diameter at 1600 *yōjanas*. The Sūrya-siddhānta calculated the diameter of the moon as 480 *yōjanas*, and its course as 324,000 *yōjanas*. The differences in the length of day and night in different parts of the earth and at different times of the year were fairly well known.

The celestial circle was divided into 27 parts of 13° 20′ each, corresponding to the 27 asterisms or *naksha-*

[1] The usual Sanskrit names of the planets are as follows :—Mercury is *Budha*, Mars *Bhauma*, *Angāraka*, or *Kubja*, Venus *Sukra*, Jupiter *Brihaspati* or *Guru*, Saturn *Sanaischara* or *Sani*. A week of seven days, evidently borrowed from the West, came into use during this period. Its days bore the names of the planets, exactly as in the Roman Empire, viz. Rāvi-vara (Sunday, *Solis dies*), Soma-vāra (Monday, *Lunae dies*), Mangala-vāra or Bhauma-vāra (Tuesday, *Martis dies*), Budha-vāra (Wednesday, *Mercurii dies*), Brihaspati-vāra or Guru-vāra (Thursday, *Iovis dies*), Sukra-vāra (Friday, *Veneris dies*), Sani-vāra (Saturday, *Saturni dies*).



PART OF THE HOYSALĒ. ŚVARA TEMPLE AT HALEBID

(*see page 244*)

tras. The system of the Nakshatras was originally based upon the sidereal revolution of the moon in about 27 days, according to which a lunar zodiac of 27 or 28 asterisms near the ecliptic was made, so that in each night of the sidereal month the moon entered a different asterism. In the astronomy of the third period the *nakshatras* are as follows, in regular order: (1) *Aśvinī*, β and γ Arietis; (2) *Bharaṇī*, 35, 39, and 41 Arietis; (3) *Kṛittikā*, Pleiades; (4) *Rōhiṇī*, Aldebaran (α, γ, δ, ε, θ Tauri); (5) *Mṛiga-śiras*, λ, ϕ^1 and ϕ^2 Orionis; (6) *Ārdrā*, α Orionis; (7) *Punar-vasū*, α and β Geminorum; (8) *Pushyā*, γ, δ, and θ Cancri; (9) *Aślēshā*, δ, ε, η, ρ, and σ Hydrae; (10) *Maghā*, α, γ, ε, ζ, η, and μ Leonis; (11) *Pūrva-phalgunī*, δ and θ Leonis; (12) *Uttara-phalgunī*, β and 93 Leonis; (13) *Hastā*, α, β, γ, δ, and ε Corvi; (14) *Chitrā*, Spica (α Virginis); (15) *Svāti*, Arcturus (α Boötis); (16) *Viśākhā*, α, β, γ, and ι Librae; (17) *Anurādhā*, β, δ, and π Scorpionis; (18) *Jyēshṭhā*, α, σ, and τ Scorpionis; (19) *Mūlā*, ε, ζ, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν Scorpionis; (20) *Pūrvāshāḍhā*, δ and ε Sagittarii; (21) *Uttarāshāḍhā*, ζ and σ Sagittarii; (22) *Śravaṇā*, α, β, and γ Aquilae; (23) *Dhanishṭhā* or *Śravishṭhā*, α, β, γ, and δ Delphinis; (24) *Śata-bhishaj*, λ Aquarii, etc.; (25) *Pūrva-bhadrapadā*, α and β Pegasi; (26) *Uttara-bhadrapadā*, γ Pegasi and α Andromedae; (27) *Rēvatī*, ζ Piscium, etc. A twenty-eighth, *Abhijit*, is sometimes included; it comprises α, ε, and ζ Lyrae, and is inserted between *Uttarāshāḍhā* and *Śravaṇā*.[1]

[1] The Nakshatras have symbolic figures representing them; Aśvinī has for its symbol a horse's head, Bharaṇī the *pudendum muliebre*, Kṛittikā a knife, Rōhiṇī a carriage on wheels or a temple, Mṛiga-śiras a deer's head, Ārdrā a gem, Punar-vasū a house, Pushyā an arrow or a crescent, Aślēshā a potter's wheel, Maghā a house, Pūrva-phalgunī a couch, Uttara-phalgunī a bed, Hastā a hand, Chitrā a pearl or a lamp, Svāti a coral bead or pearl, Viśākhā a garland, Anurādhā a row of offerings, Jyēshṭhā a ring or ear-ring, Mūlā a lion's tail or a couch, Pūrvāshāḍhā a couch or an elephant's tusk, Uttarāshāḍhā an elephant's tusk or a bed, Abhijit a triangular or heart-shaped nut or a triangle, Śravaṇā three footprints or a trident,

In determining the limits of the months two methods were followed. The month was divided into two lunar fortnights called *śukla paksha*, the bright half or period of the waxing of the moon, and *kṛishṇa paksha*, the dark half or period of the waning of the moon. It was sometimes reckoned as ending at the *amāvāsyā* or new-moon, *i.e.* the moment when the longitudes of the sun and moon are equal, so that the month began with the bright fortnight and ended with the dark fortnight. This is the *amānta* or synodic month, and is still observed in the Tamil country and most other parts of the South. The other, called the *pūrṇimānta* method, and generally followed in northern India, Telingana, and other parts of the Dekhan, makes the month end at full-moon, *i.e.* the moment when the longitudes of the sun and moon differ by 180 degrees, so that the month begins with the waning fortnight. The *amānta* month is used for the adjustment of the lunar and solar years. Chaitra, with which the principal lunar year is made to begin, starts as an *amānta* month with the sun in Mīna and extends over his passage into Mēsha, and Kārttika, with which as *amānta* the lunar year may also begin, commences with the sun in Tulā and includes his transit into Vṛiśchika. The mean lunar year of about 354 days 8 hours 48 minutes 34 seconds was adjusted to the solar year by a system of intercalations and suppressions of months; and to each of the two lunar fortnights were assigned 15 *tithis* or lunar days (more exactly, the *tithi* is the time in which the moon passes 12 degrees over the circle from the sun). The civil days of the lunar month are numbered in fortnights, each taking the number of the *tithi* current at its sunrise. When a *tithi* happens to begin and end in the same day, that day is given

Dhaṇishthā a drum, Śata-bhishaj a circle, Pūrva-bhadrapadā a two-faced figure or a couch, Uttara-bhadrapadā a couch or a two-faced figure, Rēvatī a tabor.

the number of the preceding *tithi*, and the next day bears the number of the next *tithi*, so that there is a gap in the numeration. When again a *tithi* overlaps into the third day from that on which it began, its number is given to the last two days. This lunar system is still generally followed; religious life is entirely regulated by it, even in regions such as Bengal, Orissa, and parts of the South, which in civil matters use a solar calendar.

Mention is often made of *mahā-yugas*, colossal cycles of time, which however are not generally used in serious calculation. The *mahā-yuga* was reckoned as 4,320,000 solar years, and was divided into four "ages" or *yugas* of successive decrease and deterioration, viz. the Kṛita of 1,728,000 years, the Trētā of 1,296,000, the Dvāpara of 864,000, and the Kali of 432,000. Seventy-one *mahā-yugas* form a *manv-antara*, of which 14, together with intervals between each amounting altogether to 6 *mahā-yugas*, compose the *kalpa* or aeon of 1000 *mahā-yugas*, the "Day of Brahman," which is preceded by a new creation (*sṛishṭi*) and ends in a cosmic dissolution (*pralaya*). The present age, which is the Kali-yuga, is reckoned as having begun in the year 3102 B.C.

It may be noted that the Pauliśa-siddhānta estimated the length of the *mahā-yuga* as 1,577,917,800 days, thus giving a year of 365 days 6 hours 12 minutes 36 seconds, while the Rōmaka-siddhānta gave a *yuga* of 2850 solar years, or 1,040,953 days, which implies a year of 365 days 5 hours 55 minutes 12 seconds, agreeing with Hipparchus and Ptolemy.

The solar year is given by Ārya-bhaṭa as 365 days 6 hours 12 minutes 30 seconds, by the Sūrya-siddhānta as 365 days 6 hours 12 minutes 36·56 seconds, and by the Rāja-mṛigāṅka (based upon Brahma-gupta) as 365 days 6 hours 12 minutes 30·915 seconds. On minor divisions of time see Chapter VII, § 4.

Over the North Pole was supposed to stand Mēru, a golden mountain, on which the gods dwelt. To it corresponded another Mēru over the South Pole, the home of the demons. A Pole Star stands vertically over each of these mountains, and within the sphere of the earth are the various hells. In other respects the geographical knowledge of India was nearly on the same level as that of the Greeks.

II

We have described in outline a literature which on the whole deserves the name of science, and which in its main features shews such striking resemblances to Greek astronomy that we may fairly conclude that it is based upon the latter. We now turn to the astronomy and geography of the immediately preceding centuries, and we find ourselves in another world, a realm of purely Indian imagination, in which science does not exist.

In this period the synodic month was reckoned as $29\frac{16}{31}$ days, or 30 *tithis* or lunar days. A solar year of 366 days, composed of 12 solar months of $30\frac{1}{2}$ days each, was used, which was regarded as both the tropical and the sidereal year, because after exactly 366 days the sun returned at the winter solstice to the first point of the Nakshatra Śravishṭhā.[1] These solar years were grouped in cycles or *yugas* of 5 years or 1830 days.[2] Each of these cycles contained 67 sidereal courses of the moon, or 62 synodic months, of which the 31st and 62nd were called *adhika* or "additional," in the sense of "intercalated"; as the cycle occupied also 60 solar months of $30\frac{1}{2}$ days each, and the 30th solar month of the cycle ended at the same time as the 31st

[1] The change in the solstices seems to have been known only to the Jains, who transferred the winter solstice to the Nakshatra Abhijit.

[2] The years of the cycle were named successively *saṃvatsara*, *parivatsara*, *id-vatsara* (*idu-v.*, *idā-v.*, *iḍā-v.*), *anuvatsara*, and *vatsara*.



THE EASTERN GATEWAY, BHARHUT: INNER VIEW

(*see page 251*)

synodic month, the sun and the moon agreed at the beginning and middle of each cycle, and thus the solar and lunar years could be adjusted. Together with these divisions of time a *sāvana*[1] year was kept up, which contained 12 months of 30 days each, so that 61 of these months could be equated with the five-year cycle. The Kauṭilīya (ii. 20) apparently mentions also a mysterious intercalary month of 32 days. On the names of the months see below, pp. 203 f.

The *tithi* or lunar day ($\frac{1}{30}$ of the synodic month of $29\frac{16}{31}$ days) is slightly less than the natural day, but 62 *tithis* occupy the same time as 61 natural days, so that the 62nd *tithi* ends at the same moment as the 61st natural day. Hence to equate the two methods of reckoning each 62nd *tithi* was regarded as redundant, and omitted in calculation. In the later period, in order to find the date of a given event, the number of days elapsed from some epoch (*e.g.* the beginning of the Kali-yuga) was calculated in terms of *tithis* up to the beginning of the *tithi* of the event, and from this sum was subtracted the number of redundant *tithis*, which gave the total of natural days.

The planets Venus, Jupiter, and Saturn, Ursa Major (Saptarshi), the Pole Star (Dhruva), Canopus (Agastya), Mars (possibly), and some other stars were known. The revolution of Jupiter being roughly 12 years, a cycle of 60 years, the Bṛihaspati-chakra, was invented, being the old yuga of 5 years multiplied by 12; but most probably this was not made until the later period. Some theory of colossal cycles (the Mahā-yugas, Kalpas, etc.), such as we have noticed in the later period, was already known. The day-night was divided into 30 *muhūrtas* and 60 *nāḍīs*, with various subdivisions (compare below, Chapter VII, § 4). The lengths of the longest and

1 So called from the *savana* or sacrificial pressing of the Sōma-plant, which was continued on occasions for periods of 360 days. This year implies the assumption that the sun traverses each of the 27 Nakshatras in $13\frac{1}{3}$ days.

shortest days were determined as respectively 18 and 12 *muhūrtas*; the days between them were reckoned as diminishing and increasing in regular arithmetical progression.

The system of Nakshatras was already in this period fully developed. The number was 27, or (including Abhijit) 28. Some writers grouped the 27 or 28 into classes of unequal size; others regarded them as 27 equal spaces, forming each $\frac{1}{27}$ of the celestial sphere. The solar zodiac that we have mentioned above may have been known to the writers, or at least the editors, of the Mahā-bhārata and the Purāṇas; but when it was introduced into India is quite uncertain.

Knowledge of geography, except as regards India, was very limited; but for its deficiency the Hindus compensated by a liberal use of imagination. The general theory (as given *e.g.* in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa v. 20 ff., Vishṇu-purāṇa ii. 2 ff., Agni-purāṇa cxix. ff.) was that the earth is a round plane, in the middle of which stands Mount Mēru. The continent of Jambū-dvīpa—so called from an imaginary gigantic *jambū*-tree (the Eugenia jambolana) supposed to stand on the south of Mēru—forms a circle around Mēru, and is divided into four quarters, of which the southern is Bharata-varsha (India), the northern Airāvata-varsha, and the eastern and western Vidēha-varsha. A "Salt Ocean" forms a ring round Jambū-dvīpa, and is in its turn surrounded by six other ring-shaped continents, called respectively Plaksha-dvīpa, Śālmala-dvīpa, Kuśa-dvīpa, Krauñcha-dvīpa, Śāka-dvīpa, and Pushkara-dvīpa,[1] which form concentric circles with Mēru as their centre, and are divided one from another by ring-shaped oceans of sugarcane-juice, wine, clarified butter, milk, whey (or whey and milk), and fresh water respectively.

[1] The Jains give other names to these continents, and add many others. Each continent is supposed to be double the size of the continent which it immediately encircles.

These circles are enclosed in a ring of mountains, called Lōkālōka, beyond which is a realm of darkness that extends to the uttermost bounds of the universe. In the language of Vedic mythology the universe is called the *brahmāṇḍa* or "egg of Brahman," being conceived as a globe, of which the lower half, below our earth, is the nether world. There are seven regions of the nether world, each extending over 10,000 *yōjanas*, which are named in descending order Atala, Vitala, Sutala (or Nitala), Talātala (or Gabhastimant), Mahā-tala, Rasā-tala (or Sutala), and Pātāla. In the first four dwell demons of the Daitya and Dānava orders; in the last three, Nāgas or divine serpents. Near the base of Pātāla is the giant thousand-headed cobra Śēsha or Ananta, an incarnation of Vishṇu, who supports on his hood the globe of the earth. From the terrestrial region or Bhūr-lōka to the sun extends the sphere called Bhuvar-lōka; thence to the Pole Star is Svar-lōka; above the latter are the regions named in ascending order Mahar-lōka, Jana-lōka, Tapō-lōka, and Satya-lōka or Brahma-lōka (Vishṇu-purāṇa, ii. 7). Naturally there are many different versions of this cosmography, due to the same lively imagination which engendered it.

The heavenly bodies were supposed to have their orbits in planes parallel to that of the earth, no distinction being made between their mean and true motions, and to move round Mēru as their centre. Their light is intercepted by Mēru, and thus day and night arise. The variation in the height of the sun above the horizon is explained by the supposition that the sun's orbit round Mēru varies, being narrowest at the summer solstice and widest at the winter solstice. The sun is imagined to move in summer more slowly by day than by night, and in winter more slowly by night than by day, the motions being equal only at the equinoxes, and on this theory is explained the difference

in the length of day and night. The Jains suppose that in summer the orbit of the sun is nearer to the earth than in winter, so that in summer it becomes visible from the earth sooner.

According to the Jains, there are two suns, which are indistinguishable from one another, and move at opposite points of the solar orbit; each occupies 48 hours in performing a complete revolution round Mēru, so that when a night ends in Bharata-varsha, the sun which was shining over it during the previous day arrives at the north-west of Mēru, and the second sun rises on the east of Bharata-varsha, to be followed at the beginning of the third day by the first sun, which has now arrived at the south-east of Mēru. In the same way the Jains duplicate the moons, the Nakshatras, and all the other heavenly bodies.

The Jain cosmography is also peculiar in other respects. It teaches that under our earth are seven other earths, respectively named Ratna-prabhā, Śarkarā-prabhā, Vālukā-prabhā, Paṅka-prabhā, Dhūma-prabhā, Tamaḥ-prabhā, and Mahā-tamaḥ-prabhā, which gradually increase in dimensions, and contain hells in their interior. Above our earth is a series of twelve *kalpas* or celestial worlds, which, beginning from the one nearest to the earth, are named Saudharma, Aiśāna, Sanat-kumāra, Māhēndra, Brahma-lōka, Lāntaka, Mahā-śukra, Sahasrāra, Ānata, Prāṇata, Āraṇa, and Achyuta respectively; over these are nine regions called the Nava-graivēyakas; over these are the five Anuttara-vimānas, inhabited by the Vaimānika gods, and styled Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta, Aparājita, and Sarvārtha-siddha; and at the top of the whole universe is a region called Ishat-prāgbhāra, shaped like an umbrella tapering upwards to a point and inhabited by redeemed souls. The first eight *kalpas* contain respectively 3,200,000, 2,800,000, 1,200,000, 800,000, 400,000,



SCENE ON MEDALLION AT BHARHUT: THE FOUNDATION OF THE JĒTA-VANA

(see page 251)

50,000, 40,000, and 6000 *vimānas* or divine palaces; Ānata and Prāṇata together contain 400 of them, Āraṇa and Achyuta together 300; the three divisions of the Nava-graivēyakas have respectively 111, 107, and 100, and the five Anuttara-vimānas contain one each.

In describing the geography of Jambū-dvīpa also writers rely largely upon imagination for their facts. As an illustration of their methods we may quote the account given in the Mahā-bhārata (Bhīshma-parva, vi.-viii.), where we are informed amid many mythological details that in the centre of Jambū-dvīpa stands the golden mountain Mēru, 84,000 *yōjanas* in height, beside which is the great *jambū*-tree, 1100 *yōjanas* high, from the base of which issues a river of the same name, flowing northwards into the Uttara-kuru region. On the north of Mēru is apparently the Gandha-mādana mountain, on the south the Mālyavant mountain;[1] the circumjacent region, a paradise styled Ilāvṛita-varsha, is divided into four sections, namely, Uttara-kuru on the north of Mēru, Jambū-dvīpa (in the narrower sense of the word) on the south, Kētumālā on the west, and Bhadrāśva on the east. North of Ilāvṛita-varsha are the Nīla mountains, north of these the land called Śvēta-varsha, north of this the Śvēta mountains, north of them the land called Hairaṇyaka-varsha, north of this the Śṛiṅgavant mountains, north of this the Airāvata-varsha, and to the north of this the Ocean of Milk. On the southern border of Ilāvṛita-varsha are the Nishādha mountains, south of which is the land of Hari-varsha; on the south of this is the Kailāsa or Hēma-kūṭa range, and south of this is the land called Haimāvata-varsha; on the south of the latter are the Himalayas and India, which is bordered on the south by the Salt Ocean. The space

[1] On the top of Mālyavant is supposed to be the Saṃvartaka fire, which at the end of every aeon breaks forth into terrific eruption and consumes the universe (vii. 29).

between each of these ranges of mountains is 1000 *yōjanas*.[1]

The Rāmāyaṇa gives an equally fanciful description of the world (Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa, xl.–xliii.). The author tells us that to the north of India lie the mountains successively named Himavant (Himalaya), Kāla, Sudarśana, Dēva-sakhā, Kailāsa, Krauñcha, and Maināka respectively. North of Maināka is a land without sun, moon, or stars, inhabited by radiant saints, and beyond it the river Śailōdā and the Uttara-kurus' paradise, the northern bound of which is the ocean. In this ocean is the Sōma-giri or moon-mountain, the dwelling of the Supreme Being Śiva. On the east of India are found successively the Salt Ocean, Yava-dvīpa (Java), Suvarṇa-dvīpa, Rūpaka-dvīpa, the Śiśira mountain, Red Ocean, the land of the Kūṭa-śālmalī, or giant cotton-tree, where dwells the kite-god Vainatēya or Garuḍa, the Ocean of Milk, the Ṛishabha mountain, the Fresh-water Ocean (in which is the submarine Aurva or Vāḍava fire,[2] and on the north of which is the Jāta-rūpa-śilā or Golden Mountain, where dwells the serpent Ananta, who upholds the earth), the Udaya-giri or mountain of sunrise, the land called Sudarśana-lōka, and the Dēva-lōka, or home of the gods. South of India and

[1] The Vishṇu-purāṇa, ii. 2, has some variants in this scheme. It places four mountains round Mēru, viz. Supārśva on the N., Gandha-mādana on the S., Mandara on the E., and Vipula on the W. It puts the Uttara-kuru in the place of Airāvata, gives an account of the river-system resembling that of the Jains (see below), limits Ilāvṛita to a square region around Mēru enclosed within eight ranges of mountains between Nishadha and Nīla, and accordingly represents the four regions Uttara-kuru (due N.), Bhārata-varsha (due S.), Bhadrāśva (due E.), and Kētu-mālā (due W.) as not enclosed by mountains, etc. Other Purāṇas also shew slight differences. The extent of Jambū-dvīpa is given as 100,000 *yōjanas*.

[2] Aurva, a descendant of the saint Bhṛigu, was born from his mother's thigh. To avenge his ancestors he was about to destroy the world by fire, but at their request relented and cast the flame of his wrath into tbe sea, where it lies in the form of a horse's head (Mahā-bhārata, Ādi-p., clxxviii.–clxxx.).

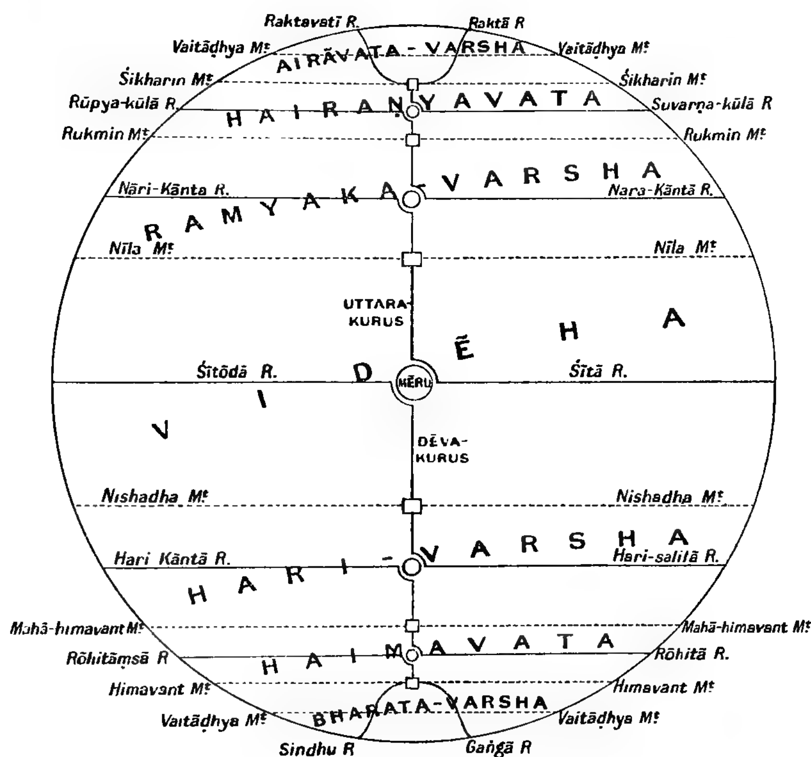
Ceylon are five mountains, successively named Pushpitaka, Sūryavant, Vaidyuta, Kuñjara, and Ṛishabha, between the two last of which lies Bhōgavatī, the city of the serpent-king Vāsuki ; still further south are the habitations of the blessed dead, and lastly Pitṛi-lōka, or seat of the ghosts and Yama, the Hindu Pluto. On the west of India are the mountains successively named Pāriyātra, Vajra, Chakravant, Varāha, Mēru (the transference of Mēru to the west is noteworthy), and Astāchala or mountain of sunset.

The Jains give a somewhat similar account of Jambū-dvīpa, which will be best understood from the diagram on the next page. They estimate the total diameter of Jambū-dvīpa at 100,000 *yōjanas*, the maximum width of Bharata-varsha and Airāvata-varsha at $526\frac{6}{19}$ *yōjanas*, that of Haimāvata and Hairaṇyavata at $1052\frac{12}{19}$ *yōjanas*, that of Hari and Ramyaka at $2105\frac{5}{19}$ *yōjanas*, and that of Vidēha at $4210\frac{10}{19}$ *yōjanas*. Vidēha (with the exception of the Dēva-kuru and Uttara-kuru regions), Airāvata, and Bharata-varsha are called *karma-bhūmis*, because in them the *tīrthaṅkaras*, or successive establishers of the Jain religion, are born and attain salvation ; all the other regions of Jambū-dvīpa are supposed to be inhabited by Yugalins or giants. At each of the eastern or western extremities of the Himalaya and Śikharī there are two narrow peninsulas, 300 *yōjanas* in length, which project into the sea towards the N.E., S.E., S.W., and N.W. ; these are the eight Antara-dvīpas, and are inhabited by barbarians.

III

The earliest stage of Hindu astronomy and cosmography is that which meets us in the Vēdas,

Brāhmaṇas, and other cognate works. It is in many respects similar to the phase which we have last surveyed, and in fact distinct boundaries between them



cannot be drawn. The one gradually ripens into the other.

In the Vēdas the universe is imagined to consist of three realms, earth, atmosphere above the earth, and upper heaven. The earth is apparently conceived as a round plane surface, around which the sun and

moon revolve.[1] The Vēdas and Brāhmaṇas do not seem to distinguish the planets from other stars.

The year commonly mentioned in this period is the *sāvana* year of 360 days (see above, p. 195), which was divided into 12 months of 30 days. The six months between two successive solstices formed an *ayana* or "course." Hence the year comprised two *ayanas*, a "northern course" (*uttarāyana*), beginning at the winter solstice, and a "southern course" (*dakshiṇāyana*), beginning at the summer solstice; in the former the sun passes from S. to N. of the equator, in the latter from N. to S. To adjust this scheme to real conditions it was necessary from time to time to intercalate an additional month; but the method of the intercalation is unknown.

Other methods of reckoning time are also found. Thus a year of 324 or 351 days (*i.e.* 12 or 13 sidereal lunar months, reckoned as of 27 days each) is sometimes mentioned. Another year was occasionally used which contained 354 days, *i.e.* 12 synodic lunar months reckoned from new moon to new moon as consisting of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each.[2] Finally, we have also the more correct computation of the year as 366 days, perhaps based on the estimate that the sun traverses each of the 27 Nakshatras in $13\frac{5}{9}$ days (see above, pp. 190 f.).

The months bore old names, that became rarer in the later period (above, p. 189), viz. Tapas (Māgha), Tapasya (Phālguna), Madhu (Chaitra), Mādhava (Vaiśākha), Śukra (Jyaishṭha), Śuchi (Āshāḍha), Nabhas (Śrāvaṇa), Nabhasya (Bhādrapada), Isha (Āśvina), Ūrja (Kārttika), Sahas (Mārgaśīrsha), Sahasya (Pausha).

[1] The Aitarēya-brāhmaṇa (iii. 44) has a curiously advanced theory that the sun causes day and night on the earth by its revolution, but does not really rise or sink. *Cf.* Vishṇu-purāṇa, ii. 8, 15.

[2] The Nidāna-sūtra (v. 11, 12) explains this year as containing 12 months of alternately 30 and 29 days. It also speaks of a mysterious year of 378 days, which seems to be based on an idea that in every third year the sun occupied 9 extra days in each *ayana*.

The system of five-year cycles mentioned above (p. 194) was already in use.

We have seen how in the later period the months of the year were divided into six seasons of two months each (above, p. 189). The growth of this division can be traced from Vedic times. The Brāhmaṇas often mention a division of the year into three seasons, the warm, the rainy, and the winter *ṛitus*, of four months each. The next step was to insert the autumn between the rains and the winter, and a cool season (spring) after the winter, thus making five seasons, which also are mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas. Lastly, a cool season distinct from the spring was reckoned between the winter and the spring, and thus the later division was established.

The Vedic months were usually synodic, and adjusted to the seasonal division by means of intercalation. The month of 30 days was divided into two fortnights, the "bright" and the "dark," of 15 days each (see above, p. 192). The months were connected with the system of Nakshatras (above, p. 190). This was already fully established in the time of the Brāhmaṇas,[1] in which it usually consisted of 27 asterisms, sometimes of 28 (including Abhijit), Kṛittikā being taken as the first in the series, in accordance with which the celestial circle was divided into 27 or 28 sections. The original use of this lunar zodiac was to mark time by defining the position of the moon without regard to its phases. For example, it was said that a sacrifice was performed *kṛittikāsu*, "in the *Kṛittikās*," *i.e.* when the moon was in conjunction with the Pleiades. Then it served to define the phases of the moon, the names of the asterisms supplying adjectives; *e.g.* we find phrases such as *phālgunī paurṇamāsī*, the time of full-moon happening when the moon is in conjunction with the

[1] In the Saṃhitās of the Vēdas the word *nakshatra* still means only a star or constellation in general.

asterism Phalgunī. These adjectives later came to be applied to the whole of the lunar month with which they were connected (*e.g.* the name *phālguna* was given to the whole of the month which had its full-moon at the conjunction with Phalgunī), and thus arose the names of the months that have been enumerated above (p. 189), which are now applied to solar months.

CHAPTER VII

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES: COINAGE

TABLES of weights and measures are often found in ancient Sanskrit books; but they shew considerable discrepancies, which indicate that different ages and provinces followed different standards. It will be well to bear the fact of this diversity in mind when the following pages are read.

I.—*Measures of Weight*

The Manu-smṛiti (viii. 132 ff.) and Yājñavalkya-smṛiti (i. 361 ff.) give the following table of weights:

8 *trasa-rēṇus* (motes) = 1 *likshā* (nit).

3 *likshās* = 1 *rāja-sarshapa* (black mustard-seed).

3 *rāja-sarshapas* = 1 *gaura-sarshapa* (white mustard-seed).

6 *gaura-sarshapas* = 1 *yava* (middle-sized barley corn).

3 *yavas* = 1 *kṛishṇala* or *raktikā* (seed of the *guñjā* or Abrus precatorius).

For gold and copper:
- 5 *kṛishṇalas* or *raktikās* = 1 *māsha* (bean).
- 16 *māshas* = 1 *karsha*, *aksha*, *tōlaka*, or *suvarṇa*.
- 4 *suvarṇas* = 1 *pala* or *nishka*.
- 10 *palas* = 1 *dharaṇa* of gold.

For silver:
- 2 *kṛishṇalas* or *raktikās* = 1 *māsha*.
- 16 *māshas* = 1 *dharaṇa* or *purāṇa*.
- 10 *dharaṇas* = 1 *śata-māna* (*pala*).

The Bṛihaspati-smṛiti (x. 13–15) states that the *karsha* of copper is also called *paṇa*, *kārshāpaṇa*, or *aṇḍikā* (a measure that is also used for silver), and that 4 of these = 1 *dhānaka*, and 12 *dhānakas* = 1 *dīnāra* (denarius). The Nārada-smṛiti (App. 57 ff.) states that in the South the *kārshāpaṇa* is a silver coin, and in the East is equal to 20 *paṇas*. It also gives the following equations: 4 *kākaṇīs* = 1 *māsha* or *pala*, 20 *māshas* = 1 *kārshāpaṇa* or *aṇḍikā*, 4 *aṇḍikās* = 1 *dhānaka*, 12 *dhānakas* = 1 *suvarṇa* or *dīnāra*.

Other varieties are found; thus the *aṇḍikā* is sometimes said to be 4 *yavas*, and again we find the table: 5 *suvarṇas* = 1 *nishka* or *pala*, 100 *nishkas* or *palas* = 1 *tulā* (or $\frac{1}{2}$ *hāra*), 200 *tulās* = 1 *bhāra*, 10 *bhāras* = 1 *āchita*.

Another set of equations is as follows: 6 *raktikās* = 1 *māsha*, 24 *raktikās* = 1 *dharaṇa* or *ṭaṅka*, 4 *ṭaṅkas* = 1 *karsha*.

The Gaṇita-sāra-saṅgraha of Mahā-vīra (9th century) gives for gold: 4 *gaṇḍakas* = 1 *guñjā* (*raktikā*), 5 *guñjās* = 1 *paṇa*, 8 *paṇas* = 1 *dharaṇa*, 2 *dharaṇas* = 1 *karsha*, 4 *karshas* = 1 *pala*, while it teaches for silver as the standard of Magadha that 2 grains (*dhānya*) = 1 *guñjā*, 2 *guñjās* = 1 *māsha*, 16 *māshas* = 1 *dharaṇa*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *dharaṇas* = 1 *karsha* or *purāṇa*, 4 *purāṇas* = 1 *pala* (i. 39–41). For other metals he teaches that $6\frac{1}{4}$ *kalās* = 1 *yava*, 4 *yavas* = 1 *aṃśa*, 4 *aṃśas* = 1 *bhāga*, 6 *bhāgas* = 1 *drakshūṇa*, 2 *drakshūṇas* = 1 *dīnāra*, 2 *dīnāras* = 1 *satēra* (stater), also that $12\frac{1}{2}$ *palas* = 1 *prastha*, 200 *palas* = 1 *tulā*, 10 *tulās* = 1 *bhāra* (i. 42–44).

In the introduction to the Līlāvatī, a somewhat late treatise on mathematics, two tables are given: (1) 2 large barleycorns = 1 *raktikā*, 3 *raktikās* = 1 *valla*, 8 *vallas* = 1 *dharaṇa*, 2 *dharaṇas* = 1 *gadyāṇaka*, 14 *vallas* = 1 *dhaṭaka*. (2) 20 *varāṭakas* (cowry shells) = 1 *kākiṇī*, 4 *kākiṇīs* = 1 *paṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa*, 16 *paṇas* = 1 *purāṇa* of shells and 1 *dramma* of silver, 16 *drammas* = 1 *nishka* of silver.

As applied to coinage, the above tables give a standard gold coin or *suvarṇa* of 80 *raktikās*, a standard silver coin of 32 *raktikās* (viz. the *purāṇa* or *dharaṇa*), and a standard copper coin of 80 *raktikās* (viz. the *kārshāpaṇa*). No such gold coinage has yet been found; but specimens of this standard in silver and copper are numerous, dating from about the beginning of the 4th century B.C. The *raktikā*, *kṛishṇala*, or *guñja* on which the standard is based is estimated at 1·83 grains, or 0·118 grammes.

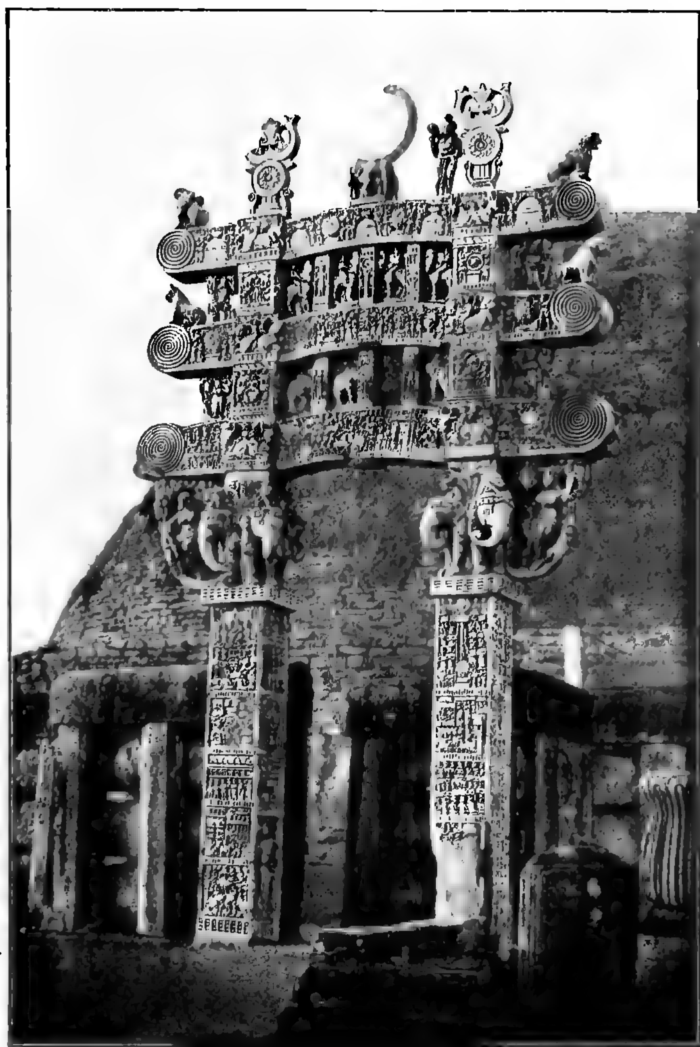
For weights of food-stuffs and the like an ancient table is given in the Atharva-vēda-pariśishṭa xxxiii. 3 (see Bolling and Negelein, The Pariśiṣṭas of the Atharva-vēda): 5 *kṛishṇalas* = 1 *māshaka*, 64 *māshakas* = 1 *pala*, 32 *palas* = 1 *prastha* of Magadha, 4 *prasthas* = 1 *āḍhaka*, 4 *āḍhakas* = 1 *drōṇa*.

With this standard of Magadha two tables given in the Purāṇas are in partial agreement: (1) 2 *mushṭis* or *palas* = 1 *prasṛiti*, 4 *prasṛitis* = 1 *kuñchi*, 8 *kuñchis* = 1 *pushkala*, 4 *pushkalas* = 1 *āḍhaka*, 4 *āḍhakas* = 1 *drōṇa*, 20 *drōṇas* = 1 *kumbha*. (2) 2 *palas* = 1 *prasṛiti*, 2 *prasṛitis* = 1 *kuḍava* or *sētikā*, 4 *kuḍavas* = 1 *prastha*, 4 *prasthas* = 1 *āḍhaka*, 4 *āḍhakas* = 1 *drōṇa*, 16 *drōṇas* = 1 *khārī* (*khārikā*), 20 *drōṇas* = 1 *kumbha*, 10 *kumbhas* = 1 *vāha*.[1]

The *pala* is here reckoned as equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ *tōlakas*. Another table gives 12 double *mushṭis* = 1 *kuḍava*, 4 *kuḍavas* = 1 *prastha*, 4 *prasthas* = 1 *āḍhaka*, 4 *āḍhakas* = 1 *drōṇa*, 20 *drōṇas* = 1 *kumbha*. Mahā-vīra in the Gaṇita-sāra-saṅgraha (i. 36 ff.) gives 4 *shōḍaśikās* = 1 *kuḍaha*, 4 *kuḍahas* = 1 *prastha*, 4 *prasthas* = 1 *āḍhaka*, 4 *āḍhakas* = 1 *drōṇa*, 4 *drōṇas* = 1 *mānī*, 4 *mānīs* = 1 *khārī*, 5 *khārīs* = 1 *pravartikā*, 4 *pravartikās* = 1 *vāha*, 5 *pravartikās* = 1 *kumbha*.

In the medical Saṃhitā of Śārṅgadhara, i. 1, 15 ff., a

[1] The Līlāvatī (Introduction) gives the same equations for Orissa as regards the *kuḍava*, *prastha*, *āḍhaka*, *drōṇa*, and *khārī*.



THE SANCHI TOPE: NORTHERN GATE

(*see page 251*)

comprehensive table is given as the standard of Magadha : 30 *paramāṇus* = 1 *trasa-rēṇu* or *vaṃśī*, 6 *trasa-rēṇus* = 1 *marīchi*, 6 *marīchis* = 1 *rājikā*, 3 *rājikās* = 1 *sarshapa*, 8 *sarshapas* = 1 *yava*, 4 *yavas* = 1 *guñja* or *raktikā*, 6 *raktikās* = 1 *māshaka* (*hēma*, or *dhānyaka*), 4 *māshakas* = 1 *dharaṇa* (*ṭaṅka*, or *śāṇa*), 2 *dharaṇas* = 1 *kōla* (*kshudraka*, *vaṭaka*, or *draṅkshaṇa*), 2 *kōlas* = 1 *karsha* (*aksha*, *pāṇi-mānikā*, *pāṇi-tala*, *pichu*, *tinduka*, *suvarṇa*, *udumbara*, *haṃsa-pada*, *viḍāla-padaka*, etc.), 2 *karshas* = 1 *śukti*, 2 *śuktis* = 1 *pala* (*mushṭi*, *āmra*, *prakuñcha*, or *vilva*), 2 *palas* = 1 *prasṛiti*, 2 *prasṛitis* = 1 *kuḍava* or *añjali* (the contents of 4 cubic *aṅgulas*), 2 *kuḍavas* = 1 *śarāva* or *mānikā*, 2 *śarāvās* = 1 *prastha*, 4 *prasthas* = 1 *āḍhaka*, 4 *āḍhakas* = 1 *drōṇa* (*kalaśa*, *nalvaṇa*, *unmana*, *ghaṭa*, or *rāśi*), 2 *drōṇas* = 1 *śūrpa* or *kumbha*, 2 *śūrpas* = 1 *drōṇī* (*gōṇī*, or *vāha*), 4 *drōṇīs* = 1 *khārī*, 100 *palas* = 1 *tulā*, 2000 *palas* = 1 *bhāra*. Śārṅgadhara states that from the *guñja* to the *kuḍava* the dry and the liquid measures are the same, but that from the *prastha* to the *tulā* liquids are measured by a standard double that of dry materials. As the standard of Kaliṅga he lays down that 12 *gaura-sarshapas* = 1 *yava*, 2 *yavas* = 1 *guñja*, 3 *guñjas* = 1 *valla*, 7 or 8 *guñjas* = 1 *māsha*, 4 *māshas* = 1 *nishka* (*ṭaṅka* or *ṣāṇa*), 6 *māshas* = 1 *gadyāna*, 10 *māshas* = 1 *karsha*, 4 *karshas* = 1 *pala*, 4 *palas* = 1 *kuḍava*, the rest of the table being similar to that of Magadha.

Vaṅga-sēna, another medical writer, gives in his manual (i. 95 ff.) the table : 4 *trasa-rēṇus* = 1 *likshā*, 6 *likshās* = 1 *sarshapa*, 6 *sarshapas* = 1 *yava*, 3 *yavas* = 1 *guñjā*, 10 *guñjās* = 1 *māshaka*, etc., proceeding from the *māshaka* in the same way as Śārṅgadhara, and equating 10 *palas* = 1 *dharaṇa*, 10 *dharaṇas* = 1 *tulā*.

The systems described in the Kauṭilīya (ii. 19) deserve separate mention. The author there prescribes a series of balances beginning with one having an arm with a length of 6 *aṅgulas* and a weight of 1 *pala*, and

followed by ten others with arms successively increasing by 8 *angulas* in length and 1 *pala* in weight. He also mentions a balance called *sama-vritta*, with an arm 72 *angulas* long and 53 *palas* in weight, and a scale-pan 5 *palas* in weight, and another styled *parimāṇī*, with twice this weight and a length of 96 *angulas*. The tables of weights are as follows: 10 *māsha* grains or 5 *guñjas* = 1 *māshaka* of gold, 16 *māshakas* of gold = 1 *suvarṇa* or *karsha*, 4 *karshas* = 1 *pala*; 88 *gaura-sarshapas* (white mustard seeds) = 1 *māshaka* of silver, 16 *māshakas* of silver or 20 *śaibya* seeds = 1 *dharaṇa*; 20 *taṇḍulas* (rice-grains) = 1 *dharaṇa* of diamonds; 20 *tulās* = 1 *bhāra*; 10 *dharaṇas* = 1 *pala*, and 100 *palas* = 1 *āya-mānī*, or Royal standard. But besides the last value there were three others, the *vyāvahārikī* (commercial) equalling 95 *palas*, the *bhājinī* (used for commodities paid to the king's servants) 90 *palas*, and the *antaḥ-pura-bhājinī* (for goods delivered to the royal harem) 85 *palas*. Similarly, while in the *āya-mānī* 1 *pala* = 10 *dharaṇas*, in the *vyāvahārikī* the *pala* = 9½ *dharaṇas*, in the *bhājinī* 9, and in the *antaḥ-pura-bhājinī* 8½. Similarly, while 200 *palas* (of *māsha* grains) made 1 *drōṇa* according to the Royal standard, the *vyāvahārika drōṇa* contained only 187½, the *bhājanīya drōṇa* 175, and the *antaḥ-pura-bhājanīya drōṇa* 162½ *palas*.

As regards other values, we find that 4 *kuḍumbas* = 1 *prastha*, 4 *prasthas* = 1 *āḍhaka*, 4 *āḍhakas* = 1 *drōṇa*, 16 *drōṇas* = 1 *khārī* (*vārī* in the printed text), 20 *drōṇas* = 1 *kumbha*, 10 *kumbhas* = 1 *vaha*. For oil and ghi there was a special ratio, viz. for ghi 1 *vāraka* = 84 *kuḍumbas*, for oil 64; and ¼ *vāraka* of either was called *ghaṭikā*.

On all commodities weighed in the *sama-vritta* and *parimāṇī* balances for payment to the king, except flesh, metals, precious stones, and salt, an overplus of 5 per cent. was apparently demanded.

II.—*Coinage*

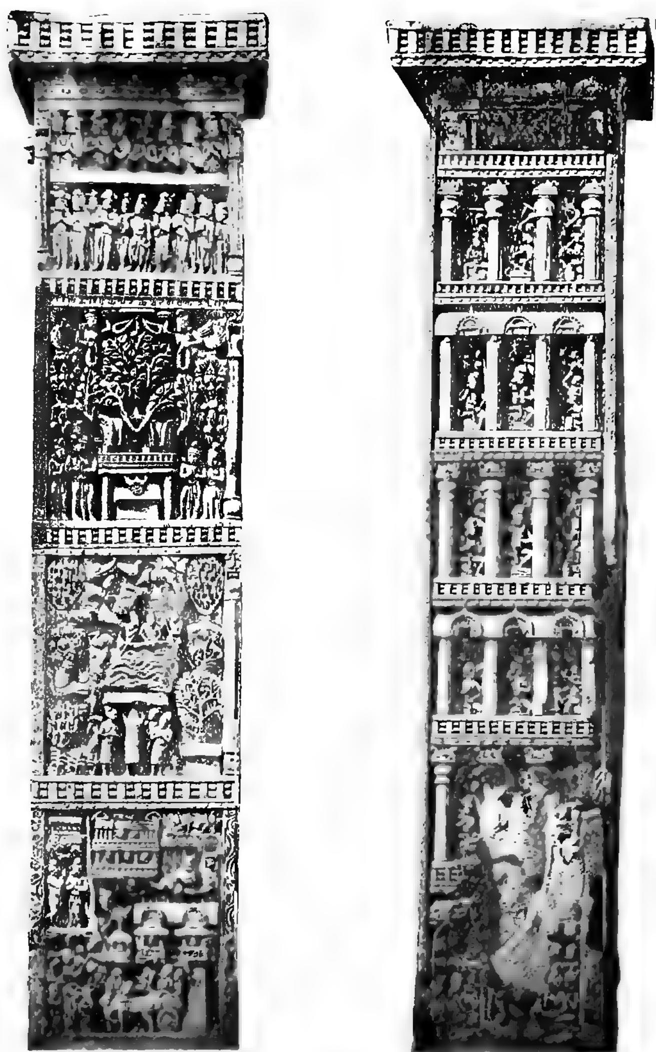
India shews us clearly the manner in which a coinage arises. In the earliest period the currency consisted of metal in various forms, without any official stamp. Next, pieces of metal, of particular shapes and weights, were punch-marked with tokens and letters indicating their value and the office whence they were issued, and hence guaranteeing them. The last stage was reached in a regular coinage of gold, silver, lead, billon, and various alloys: a number of punch-marks of different times, grouped together, gradually developed into regular types, which were associated usually with inscriptions and central figures, and coins bearing these combined features were struck from dies or cast.

India possessed a very ancient currency of punch-marked metal pieces, based upon the metric standard described above (p. 208). Specimens exist which are attributed to the early part of the 4th century B.C. These pieces are of a roughly rectangular shape, the silver ones being generally cut out of sheets of the metal and the copper ones from bars. A silver piece is shown on Plate IV, No. 1. This primitive currency was soon superseded by a proper coinage, which was perhaps suggested, as it certainly was influenced, by foreign example. The coins of the Achaemenid kings of Persia were current in the North-West of Hindustan, where the Persians were suzerain, until the arrival of Alexander the Great, and gold double staters seem to have been struck by their governors on Indian soil. Athenian coins also circulated in these regions until late in the 4th century B.C., and were subsequently imitated by native princes. There also survive some specimens of early native mintages which are instructive. An example is shown on Plate IV, No. 2; it is a square copper coin of Eran, punch-marked with various symbols. Another example is given on Plate IV,

No. 3; this is a round copper piece of the Pañchāla country, perhaps of the Śuṅga dynasty, which has on its obverse a figure on a lotus, and on the reverse a Brāhmī inscription *phagunimitrasa*, "of Phalgunī-mitra," in an incuse square.

When the Hellenistic princes of Bactria began to extend their power into India, they introduced into it a coinage in which Greek and native methods were combined. An instance is shown on Plate IV, No. 4. It is a square copper piece, bearing on the obverse the head of Demetrius, son of Euthydemus of Bactria, with a headdress of an elephant's scalp and a diadem, surrounded by the words *βασιλεως ανικητου δημητριου*; on the reverse is a winged thunderbolt, with a Kharōshṭhī legend *maharajusa aparajitasa demetriyusa*, literally translating the Greek legend. There exists a considerable number of coins of these Hellenistic rulers; the earlier ones are usually based on the Attic standard (1 drachma = 67·5 grains), the later on the Achaemenid (1 siglos = 86·45 grains).

The Śaka invaders from the middle of the second century B.C. struck rude imitations of various Hellenistic and Parthian coins. An example is the square copper piece of Maues or Moa, who ruled over the valley of the Indus about 120 B.C., which is shown on Plate IV, No. 5. The obverse has a figure of Poseidon, with the legend *βασιλεως βασιλεων μεγαλου μαυου*; on the reverse is a female figure amidst vines, with the Kharōshṭhī legend *rajatirajasa mahatasa moasa*, translating the Greek. Another type of Śaka mintage is the round silver coin of Zeionises shown on Plate IV, No. 6; the obverse has the figure of a mounted satrap with the legend *μαννιγλου υιου σατραπου ζειωνισου*, the reverse figures of a satrap and a female symbolising a city and holding a wreath and cornucopia, with the Kharōshṭhī translation *manigulasa chhatrapasa putrasa chhatrapasa jihonisa*. There still survive similar coins of



FACES OF PILLARS OF THE EASTERN GATE, SANCHI

(*see page 251*)

Maues' successors Azes and Azilises, of Vonones and Spalagadama, who ruled in Arachosia and Drangiana, of the Northern Satraps Rājūvula and his son Śoṇḍāsa of Mathurā, and of several others, including some native states.

The coins of the Indo-Parthian dynasty—Gondophernes (from A.D. 21) and others—are in some respects midway between those of the Śakas and the more characteristic mintages of the Kushans. If the ascription of Kanishka's coronation to 58 B.C. is correct, his Great Kushan dynasty ought to be mentioned next here. It is in any case noteworthy that these Kushans established a gold currency on a basis of 1 part of gold to 12 of silver (the normal rate of Syria and the Roman Empire between *circa* 100 B.C. and A.D. 100), with legends in Greek letters only, and with figures of a surprising number of deities—Persian, Greek, Hindu, Buddhist, and Scythian—collected from most various countries, and indicating the extent of their commerce. Typical of them is the gold coin of Kanishka shown on Plate IV, No. 7. On the obverse is a full-length picture of Kanishka in Turki dress and topboots beside a fire-altar, with the inscription in Greek letters *shaonanoshao kanēshki koshano*, "the King of Kings, Kanishka the Kushan"; on the reverse is the god Śiva with four arms, holding a hand-drum, pitcher, trident, and goat, with the legend *oēsho* in Greek letters. A type of coin that apparently originated with Kanishka—on the obverse a king standing, on the reverse a seated goddess with noose and cornucopia—persisted in a degraded form on the mintage of Kashmir until the thirteenth century, and was used often elsewhere.

An important series of coins is that struck by the Kushan dynasty founded by Kozulo Kadphises in the Kabul valley about the middle of the first century A.D. A specimen is the gold piece of Kozulo's son Wema Kadphises, represented on Plate V, No. 1; the obverse

bears Wema's bust with the legend *βασιλευς οοημο καδφισης*, the reverse a figure of Śiva with trident and deerskin and the Kharōshṭhī inscription *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvalogaiśvarasa mahiśvarasa vimakaptiśasa* (?). Here, as in the coins of Kanishka's dynasty, Scytho-Sasanian features are mingled with those of the older Greco-Indian mints. Somewhat similar are the debased coins of the Kidāras or Little Kushans, who settled in the Kabul valley and Panjab about A.D. 425. Kushan influence is also traceable in the large copper coins of the Yaudhēyas (perhaps the same as the Johiyas of Bhawalpur) and of the early period of Nepal, as well as in the early Śāhi kingdom of Kandahar.

The silver coinage of Nahapāna and the dynasty of Western Kshatrapas founded by Chashṭana was modelled on the hemidrachms of the Hellenistic rulers of the Panjab. An example is seen in the silver piece of Nahapāna depicted on Plate V, No. 2, of which the obverse shews the head of the satrap, with Greek legend, while the reverse has in Brāhmī letters the semi-Sanskrit *rājñō kshaharātasa nahapānasa*, and in Kharōshṭhī the Prakrit *rañō chhaharatasa nahapanasa*, surrounding a thunderbolt and arrow. Somewhat similar are the coins of the Ābhīra dynasty of Nasik. Certain silver coins of the great Āndhra dynasty strongly resemble early pieces of the Western Kshatrapas; but most of the Āndhra coins are of lead or an alloy of copper, and are in style nearer to those of the Pallavas. Typical of the Āndhra mintages is the leaden coin of Viḷivāya-kura Gautamī-putra on Plate V, No. 3. Its obverse bears the symbol of a *chaitya* or sanctuary for relics of the Buddha, which is also characteristic of coins of Chashṭana and his successors: the *chaitya* is within a railing, and above it is a *svastika* symbol, while on the right is a tree. The reverse shews a bow and arrow, with the Brāhmī legend *rañō gōtamīputasa viḷivāyakurasa*.

Next may be mentioned the coins of the Gupta dynasty, beginning early in the fourth century A.D. They are of various classes. The gold pieces originally followed the types and standards used in the eastern coinages of the Later Great Kushans, but later struck out different lines. A fine example is that on Plate V, No. 4, a gold coin of Chandra-gupta I; on the obverse are figures of the king and his queen, with their names in Brāhmī, *chandragupta kumāradēvī śrīḥ*, on the reverse the legend *lichchhavayaḥ* (the queen's family name), with the figure of a goddess holding a noose and cornucopia, and seated on a lion. Two other interesting gold coins of this dynasty, both struck by the great Samudra-gupta, are shown on Plate V, Nos. 5 and 6. The former was struck to commemorate the *aśva-mēdha* sacrifice following the king's conquests (see above, p. 169); the obverse bears the figure of a queen holding a yak-tail fan and sacrificial staff or spear, with the legend *aśvamēdhaparākramaḥ*, while on the reverse is the horse of the sacrifice with the legend *rājādhirājaḥ pṛithivīṃ vijitya* (?) *divaṃ jayaty aprativāryavīryaḥ*. No. 6 shows the king in another character, as a man of culture: on the obverse is Samudra-gupta in the garb of peace, sitting and playing on the Indian lyre, with the legend *mahārājādhirāja śrīsamudraguptaḥ*, on the reverse a seated Lakshmī or goddess of fortune, with the legend *samudraguptaḥ*. Some of the Gupta types are imitated in the currencies of the Maukharis and other minor rulers under the influence of the main or subordinate branches of the dynasty.

The Huns, who invaded India in the fifth century, introduced a deplorably bad mintage, some of their coins being merely Sasanian pieces with the heads of Hun princes restruck in repoussé, others poor copies of Sasanian, Kushan, and Gupta patterns. The subversion of their power did not lead to any very great improvement in native numismatic art. Old types

were repeated again and again with little variety; for example, the "bull and horseman" of the Brahman dynasty of Śāhi kings of Kandahar were retained even after the advent of the Moslem conquerors, and the old type of the seated goddess, common in many regions, also survived in the United and Central Provinces for a surprising length of time.

There is a little more variety in the mintages of the South. The old punch-marked currency here lasted longer than in the North. Of the Pallavas and Kurumbars a few coins are extant; some of them, partly resembling Āndhra mintages, may be as early as the second or third century A.D., and bear on their reverse a ship, while others, made of gold and silver, and later in date, bear as type the maned lion of the Pallavas with an inscription. After punch-marked pieces, the Pāṇḍyas issued square coins bearing a die-struck figure on one side, followed by others with types on both sides. Between the seventh and tenth centuries they struck round gold coins, some of which bear on the obverse two fishes (the Pāṇḍya emblem) with a lamp and yak-tail fan, and on the reverse an inscription, besides other types in copper. The Chēras issued coins from both Kērala and Koṅgu-dēśa; their characteristic emblem is a bow. Chōḷa coins before the reign of Rāja-rāja present on the obverse a tiger (the Chōḷa emblem) with the Pāṇḍya fishes and the Chēra bow, the reverse bearing the name of a king. Under Rāja-rāja appeared a new type—the standing king on the obverse, the seated goddess on the reverse—which was a debased descendant of the old Kushan pattern. It spread over a great part of the South, and was adopted in Ceylon. A specimen of this coinage of Rāja-rāja is shown on Plate V, No. 7.

Most of the surviving coins of the Chālukyas are of gold, bearing a figure of a boar, the family's emblem, and having each part of their design stamped upon

them by a different punch. Those of the western branch are usually thick, and often cup-shaped. Those of the eastern dynasty, generally of gold, but sometimes of an alloy of bronze, are thin. As example may be taken a gold piece of the Eastern Chālukya Rāja-rāja, shown on Plate V, No. 8 ; it bears the boar in the centre, around it the legend *śrīrājarāja sa[ṃvat] 35*.

The Kādambas issued some gold coins, bearing as central emblem a lotus, which somewhat resemble those of the Western Chālukyas. The mintages of the other leading dynasties—the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Kaḷachuryas of Kalyani, Yādavas, Kākatīyas, etc.—are very imperfectly known.

III.—*Measures of Length*

Most of the ordinary standards of length are included in the following table, which is chiefly based upon the Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa (xlix. 37 ff.) : 8 *paramāṇus* (atoms) = 1 *para-sūkshma* (molecule), 8 *para-sūkshmas* = 1 *trasa-rēṇu* (mote), 8 *trasa-rēṇus* = 1 *rēṇu* or *mahī-rajas* (grain of sand), 8 *rēṇus* = 1 *vālāgra* (tip of hair), 8 *vālāgras* = 1 *likshā* (nit), 8 *likshās* = 1 *yūka* (louse), 8 *yūkas* = 1 *yava* (corn), 8 *yavas* = 1 *aṅgula* (finger), 6 *aṅgulas* = 1 *pada* (foot), 2 *padas* = 1 *vitasti* (span), 2 *vitastis* = 1 *hasta* (cubit), 4 *hastas* = 1 *daṇḍa* (rod) or *dhanus* (bow), 2 *daṇḍas* = 1 *nāḍi*, *nāḍikā* (reed), 2000 *daṇḍas* = 1 *ga-vyūti*, 8000 *daṇḍas* = 1 *yōjana*.

Mahā-vīra in his Gaṇita-sāra-saṅgraha (i. 25–31) gives the scheme : 8 *aṇus* = 1 *trasa-rēṇu*, 8 *trasa-rēṇus* = 1 *ratha-rēṇu*, 8 *ratha-rēṇus* = 1 hair, 8 hairs = 1 *likshā*, 8 *likshās* = 1 *tila* (sesam seed) or *sarshapa* (mustard seed), 8 *tilas* = 1 *yava*, and so onward as above ; but 2000 *daṇḍas* are given as equal to 1 *krōśa*, and 4 *krōśas* to 1 *yōjana*.

This is similar to the table in the Kauṭilīya-artha-śāstra (bk. ii., ch. 20) : 8 *paramāṇus* = 1 *ratha-chakra-*

viprut, 8 *ratha-chakra-vipruts* = 1 *likshā*, 8 *likshās* = 1 *yūka*, 8 *yūkas* = 1 *yava*, 8 *yavas* = 1 *aṅgula*, 12 *aṅgulas* = 1 *vitasti* (span), 2 *vitastis* = 1 *aratni* or *ratni* (cubit, identical with *hasta*), 4 *aratnis* = 1 *daṇḍa* (rod) or *dhanus* (bow), 1000 *dhanus* = 1 *gōruta*, 4 *gōrutas* = 1 *yōjana*. This agrees in part with Baudhāyana's Śulva-sūtra, which gives: 12 *aṅgulas* = 1 *prādēśa*, 2 *prādēśas* = 1 *aratni*. The Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa (I. vii. 96–101; *cf.* the Vāyu-purāṇa, ci. 116 ff.) gives the table: 10 *aṅgulas* = 1 *prādēśa*, 12 *aṅgulas* (measured in this case by the little finger) = 1 *vitasti*, 21 *aṅgulas* = 1 *ratni*, 24 *aṅgulas* = 1 *hasta*, 42 *aṅgulas* or 2 *ratnis* = 1 *kishku*, 4 *hastas* = 1 *dhanus*, *daṇḍa*, *nālikā*, or *yuga*, 200 *dhanus* = 1 *gavyūti*, 8000 *dhanus* = 1 *yōjana*.

As the above tables shew, the Hindus used both a long and a short *yōjana*. The former contained 32,000 *hastas*, or 8 *krōśas*, and amounted to about 9 miles; and the short *yōjana* was exactly one-half of the long. The word *yōjana* is also used by some writers to denote vaguely a day's march, which on the average amounted to about 12 miles, but varied according to circumstances.

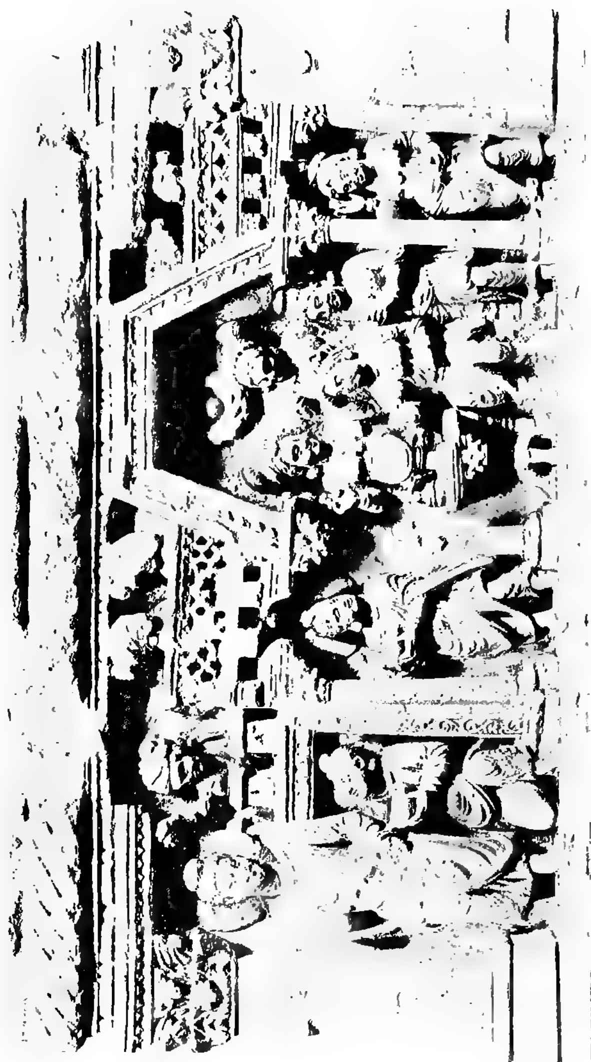
We also find (*e.g.* in the Līlāvatī, Introduction) the equations: 10 *hastas* = 1 *vaṃśa*, and 20 square *vaṃśas* = 1 *nivartana*.

A Jain Gaṇita[1] has the following table: 4 *tilas* (sesam seeds) = 1 *yava* (corn), 4 *yavas* = 1 *aṅgula* (finger), 4 *aṅgulas* = 1 *mushṭi* (fist), 4 *mushṭis* = 1 *hasta* or *kara* (cubit), 4 *hastas* = 1 *daṇḍa*, etc.

IV.—*Measures of Time*

The Manu-smṛiti (i. 64) gives the following table: 18 *nimēshas* (winkings) = 1 *kāshṭhā*, 30 *kāshṭhās* = 1 *kalā*, 30 *kalās* = 1 *muhūrta*, 30 *muhūrtas* = 1 *ahō-rātra* (mean civil solar day-night), 15 *ahō-rātras* = 1 *paksha*, 2

[1] Quoted by Peterson, *Third Report on the Search for MSS.*, p. 7.



THE RENUNCIATION OF NANDA (GANDHARA SCULPTURE)

(see page 253)

pakshas = 1 month, 2 months = 1 *ṛitu* (season), 3 *ṛitus* = 1 *ayana*, or ½ of solar year (see p. 203).

Another table runs as follows: 10 *gurv-aksharas* (long syllables) = 1 *prāṇa* (breath), 6 *prāṇas* = 1 *vi-nāḍī* or *pala*, 60 *vināḍīs* = 1 *ghaṭikā*, *nāḍī*, or *daṇḍa*, 60 *ghaṭikās* = 1 *ahō-rātra* (day-night).

The Purāṇas give different systems. Thus the Vishṇu-purāṇa (I. iii.), Padma-purāṇa (Sṛishṭi-khaṇḍa, iii. 4, 5), and Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa (xlvi. 23–5) state that 15 *nimēshas* = 1 *kāshṭhā*, 30 *kāshṭhās* = 1 *kalā*, 30 *kalās* = 1 *muhūrta* (= $\frac{1}{30}$ day).

But in another table 30 *kalās* = 1 *kshaṇa*, and 12 *kshaṇas* = 1 *muhūrta*.

The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (iii. 11) gives us the following scheme: 2 *paramāṇus* = 1 *aṇu*, 3 *aṇus* = 1 *trasa-rēṇu*, 3 *trasa-rēṇus* = 1 *truṭi*, 100 *truṭis* = 1 *vēdha*, 3 *vēdhas* = 1 *lava*, 3 *lavas* = 1 *nimēsha*, 3 *nimēshas* = 1 *kshaṇa*, 5 *kshaṇas* = 1 *kāshṭhā*, 15 *kāshṭhās* = 1 *laghu*, 15 *laghus* = 1 *nāḍikā*, 2 *nāḍikās* = 1 *muhūrta*, 6 (or 7) *nāḍikās* = 1 *yāmā* or *prahara* (watch), 4 *praharas* = 1 day.

Another scheme runs thus: 1000 *saṅkramas* = 1 *truṭi*, 100 *truṭis* = 1 *tatpara*, 30 *tatparas* = 1 *nimēsha*. Another specimen of similar ingenuity is: 60 *kshaṇas* = 1 *lava*, 60 *lavas* = 1 *nimēsha*, 60 *nimēshas* = 1 *kāshṭhā*, 60 *kāshṭhās* = 1 *atipala*, 60 *atipalas* = 1 *vipala*, 60 *vipalas* = 1 *pala*, 60 *palas* = 1 *daṇḍa*, 60 *daṇḍas* = 1 day and night, 60 day-nights = 1 *ṛitu* or season. The table given by Bhāskara (Siddhānta-śirōmaṇi, i. 19, 20) is as follows: 100 *truṭis* = 1 *tatpara*, 30 *tatparas* = 1 *nimēsha*, 18 *nimēshas* = 1 *kāshṭhā*, 30 *kāshṭhās* = 1 *kalā*, 30 *kalās* = 1 *ghaṭikā*, 2 *ghaṭikās* = 1 *kshaṇa*, 30 *kshaṇas* = 1 day. Mahā-vīra in the Gaṇita-sāra-saṅgraha states that 7 *uchchhvāsas* (breaths) = 1 *stōka*, 7 *stōkas* = 1 *lava*, 38½ *lavas* = 1 *ghaṭī*, 2 *ghaṭīs* = 1 *muhūrta*, etc. The Kauṭilīya (ii. 20) gives different values, viz. 2 *truṭis* = 1 *lava*, 2 *lavas* = 1 *nimēsha*, 5 *nimēshas* = 1 *kāshṭhā*, 30 *kāshṭhās* = 1 *kalā*, 40 *kalās* = 1 *nāḷikā*, 2 *nāḷikās* = 1 *muhūrta*, 15 *muhūrtas* = 1 day or night, etc.

CHAPTER VIII

MEDICINE

THE early history of medicine in India is very obscure. It is however clear that in its earliest stages it was closely connected with sorcery. The Atharva-vēda, which, though the latest of the Vedic Saṃhitās, is nevertheless of high antiquity, chiefly consists of verses recited as incantations to ward off evil or to cast magic spells upon others, and in this connection gives a fairly full list of diseases and their symptoms. Experience probably showed the necessity of supplementing this process by more earthly methods, and thus gradually arose a system of medicine. Tradition however did not forget the ancient relation of medicine to magic; it rightly described the former as an *upāṅga* or ancillary science of the Atharva-vēda (Suśruta, i. 1), and the study of attendant omens has always played an important part in the prognosis of the complete practitioner.

The medical schools that thus arose have been singularly tenacious of life. The principles of most Indian practitioners at the present day vary little from those of the first century, and among the text-books still commonly used are the Saṃhitā of Charaka, who probably flourished about the beginning of the Christian era, the Saṃhitā of Suśruta, who is much earlier than the fifth century, the Ashṭāṅga-hṛidaya-saṃhitā and Ashṭāṅga-saṅgraha (Vṛiddha-vāgbhaṭa) of Vāgbhaṭa, who is not much, if at all, later than Suśruta, the Nidāna of Mādhava, who is not later than the ninth

century, the Siddha-yōga or Vṛinda-mādhava, which is perhaps not later than the tenth century, and the handbooks of Chakra-pāṇi-datta (early eleventh century) and Vaṅga-sēnȧ (probably twelfth century).

Among the sources of medical doctrine we may mention also two unique ancient manuscripts recently discovered, known as the Macartney MS. (written about A.D. 350), and the Bower MS. (*c.* A.D. 350–400).

The modern text-books differ from the ancient chiefly in the importance that they attach to certain drugs, such as mercury, opium, and sarsaparilla (probably introduced from the Arabic schools), and the appearance of smallpox and syphilis in their lists of diseases.[1] Mercury, for example, is unknown in the Bower MS.; it is seldom mentioned by Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa; Charaka's reference to it is doubtful; and none of these authors speak of its calcination, purification, or other processes of preparation. Later writers, on the other hand, became more and more impressed with its virtues, and one school even went so far as to regard it as the *elixir vitae*, conferring upon the human body a divine and immortal potency.

Hindu pathology was founded upon the theory of the three Humours (*dhātus* and *dōshas*), namely wind, gall, and mucus, which are supposed to be present in every living being in definite proportions. Wind is believed to be dominant over the others in old age, gall in middle age, and mucus in youth. When these elements are in equilibrium the body is healthy; when the equilibrium is disturbed disease arises. The chief seat of wind is supposed to be below the navel, that of gall between the heart and the navel, and that of mucus above the heart. Wind is divided into (1) *udāna*,

[1] The older authors speak of certain complaints called *liṅga-varti*, *arśa*, and *liṅgārśa*, which may possibly signify syphilis; but the latter disease can only be traced back with certainty to the 16th century, where it appears under the name *phiraṅga*, or European disease. It was treated with mercury and sarsaparilla.

residing in the throat, moving upwards, and causing speech, etc.; (2) *prāṇa*, in the heart, passing outwards from the mouth, causing breath and introducing nutriment; (3) *samāna*, in the stomach, fanning the supposed fire of digestion in which food is cooked in the bowels, and then parting the cooked food into chyle, urine, faeces, etc.; (4) *apāna*, in the lower bowels, driving the excrements, menses, semen, and foetus downwards, and (5) *vyāna*, circulating throughout the body, separating the fluids in it, keeping the blood and sweat active, and causing motion, etc. Some books, including the Bower MS., count blood as a fourth Humour.

The body is believed to comprise seven elements, namely, *rasa* (juice or chyle), blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, and seed. Of this series each member is transformed into the next after 5 days, so that, *e.g.* chyle in 5 days has turned into blood, and in 30 days into seed. The chyle is a thin transparent liquid, which has its seat in the heart, whence it passes throughout the body by means of 24 tubes. The essence of these seven elements is *ōjas* or *bala*, "power," a cold white oily matter diffused throughout the body. The heart, supposed to be the seat of mental activity, and described as having the shape of an inverted lotus-flower, is said to be formed from an extract of blood and mucus, and to be closed during sleep and open in waking.

Scientific anatomy was not practised, and so the knowledge of the human body was generally vague. We read that the body contains 360 bones, 210 joints, 900 sinews and nerves, 500 muscles (520 in adult women), and 700 veins; and some writers speak of 10 radical veins, or even of 72,000 veins, centred in the heart. The wind, gall, mucus, and blood are said to be conveyed each through 175 veins. We have already mentioned the 24 tubes (*dhamanīs*) through which the chyle is believed to circulate through the body. These



THE ŚIBI JĀTAKA (GANDHARA SCULPTURE)

(*see page 253*)

are supposed to start from the navel; 10 of them proceed upwards and cause the activity of the 5 senses, 10 go downwards and promote discharges in that direction, and 4 are horizontal. Some even reckon 3,956,000 or 2,900,956 veins, besides these tubes. During pregnancy the foetus is believed to have attached to its navel an artery connected with the placenta, which in turn is attached to the heart of the mother, from which chyle passes through the placenta to the foetus and nourishes it.

Organic life is divided into four classes, *svēdaja* or beings born from sweat (*i.e.* insects, etc.), *aṇḍaja* or beings born from eggs, *udbhijja* or vegetables, and *jarāyuja* or beings born from a membrane. Child-marriage naturally does not receive much countenance from the medical authorities, who generally recommend that the bridegroom should be 21 years of age and the bride 12, and hold that the most vigorous offspring is generated by a father of not less than 25 years of age, and a mother of not less than 16.

In regard to diet, the physicians recommend the meat of game, both birds and quadrupeds, and allow a moderate use of spirits. In opposition to the general rule of Indian orthodoxy, they tolerate the use of beef, pork, and fish at the table, but recommend that they should not be regularly eaten. A regimen is usually prescribed for keeping the body in health, which is varied according to the season. On rising in the morning, after the stool, the Hindu cleans his teeth with chips of wood, brushes his tongue, and washes his mouth and face. The doctors prescribe that the eyes should be daily smeared with antimony sulphate, and the body rubbed with fragrant oils.

Surgery was practised to a considerable extent; but the defective knowledge of anatomy must have rendered serious operations very uncertain. For diseases of the skin a cautery of potash or similar substances was used,

or the flesh was burned with hot irons, boiling liquids, or hot cow-dung. For blood-letting leeches were used, or the patient was cupped by means of a horn or gourd with a burning wick inside it, of which the wide end was fixed over the incision, while the surgeon sucked through the narrow end. The same purpose was effected by opening veins in various places; for instance, a vein on the breast might be opened for the supposed cure of madness, and on the forehead to ease pain in the head or eyes. The Caesarean operation was sometimes performed in difficult child-birth; dropsy was relieved by gradual tapping of the water; and some ventured on couching for cataract. The frequency of mutilation as a punishment gave surgeons abundant opportunity for the practice of grafting flesh upon the lips, nose, and ears. The grafted flesh was taken, if possible, without detachment from the cheek. When a nose had to be replaced, a pair of tubes was inserted.

Madness was treated with methods very similar to those employed until recent times in Europe. When the disease was considered to be curable, the patient might be subjected to a medical regimen, or bled, or left to starve in a dry well, or whipped, or imprisoned in a dark room, or systematically frightened, or scalded with boiling oil or water, or burned with a hot iron, or tied up and left to lie with his face exposed to the sun. In its worse forms madness was supposed to be due to the possession of demons, whose characters were diagnosed from the conduct of the patient, and accordingly medicines and magical rites were prescribed for their expulsion.

CHAPTER IX

WRITING

1. *Characters.*—For many centuries past India has possessed a bewildering variety of forms of writing; but comparison of the older records enables us to trace back almost all this multiplicity of scripts to a single original, the ancient Brāhmī characters. Some coins of the fourth century B.C. and the inscriptions containing the Edicts of Aśōka (third century B.C.) are the oldest Brāhmī writings known to us, but their characters have already a long history behind them. As most of the Brāhmī letters agree with the Northern Semitic characters of the early part of the ninth century B.C., it seems likely that Hindu traders, about 800 B.C., borrowed North-Semitic letters to write their own language, and that then Hindu scholars arranged and developed them into alphabetical systems suitable to express the requirements of Sanskrit speech. One of these systems was the *Brāhmī*, which in time became the parent of nearly all the later scripts of India and their offspring.

The older types of the Brāhmī may be assigned to the period lying approximately between 350 B.C. and 350 A.D.; a cognate character, the Drāviḍī of the Bhattiprolu inscription, though actually of about 200 B.C., seems to be descended from a type that branched off from the Brāhmī about the fifth century B.C. From cursive varieties of the older Brāhmī arose about the middle of the fourth century A.D. a group of Northern alphabets, which may be classified as follows:

(1) The Gupta, used on inscriptions under the Gupta dynasty in the fourth and fifth centuries;

(2) an angular or "nail-headed," type, beginning early in the sixth century, and between the eighth and tenth centuries developing in the direction of the Nāgarī;

(3) the Nāgarī, of which the first complete inscription is dated A.D. 754; it was characterised by the use of lines instead of angular tops of the letters, and gradually spread over the greater part of Northern India and the Dekhan, while a Southern variety, the parent of the modern Nandi-nāgarī, developed between the ninth and eleventh centuries;

(4) the Śāradā, descended from a Western variety of the Gupta, first appeared about A.D. 800 in Kashmir and the North-East Panjab, and has maintained itself in Kashmir;

(5) the Proto-Bengali, from the eleventh century;

(6) the Nepali hooked type, between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries; and

(7) the arrow-headed type, found in Eastern India, and descended from an ancient form of Brāhmī.

While the modern Northern alphabets are descended from one or another of these classes, those of the South have evolved from types of alphabets used by the Āndhra dynasties south of the Vindhya from the middle of the fourth century A.D. They may be divided thus:

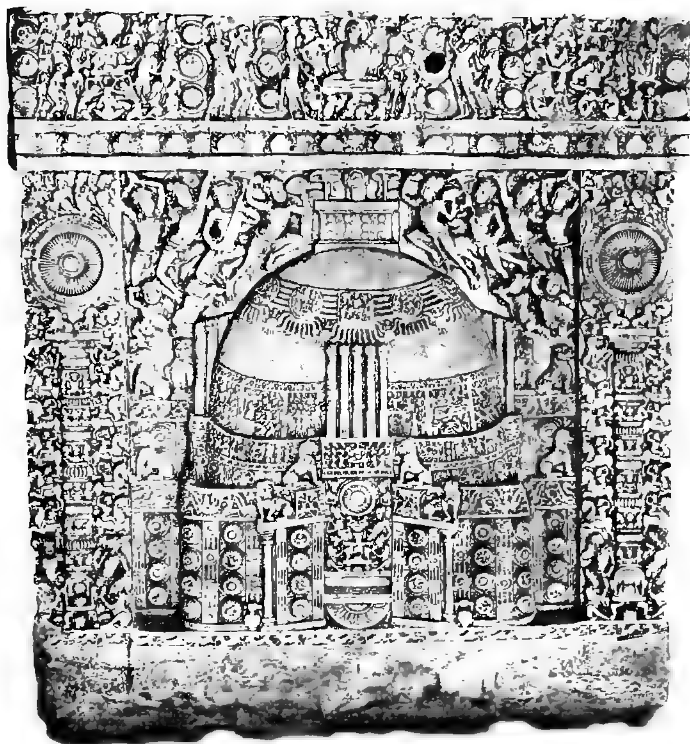
(1) The Western, found between the fifth and ninth centuries chiefly in Kathiawar, Gujarat, and the Western Maratha countries;

(2) the Central Indian, a type which in its most pronounced forms has square or box-headed tops to its downward strokes; it appears from the fourth century onward mainly in Northern Haidarabad, the Central Provinces, and parts of the Central Indian Agency;

(3) the Kanarese and Telugu, from about the fifth century onwards;

(4) the Kaliṅga, from the seventh century, on the eastern coast between Ganjam and Chicacole;

(5) the Grantha, beginning in the ancient Sanskrit



CARVED SLAB FROM THE AMARAVATI STŪPA

(see page 255)

inscriptions of the Pallavas, and used on the eastern coast south of Pulicat;

(6) the group represented by the Pallava inscriptions of Mayidavolu and Kondamudi, which perhaps belong to the second century A.D. (see *Epigraphia Indica*, vi., pp. 84, 315).

The Tamil alphabet—of which an early cursive variety, the Vaṭṭ'-eḻuttu, was used in the South and South-West—is in the main derived from a Northern alphabet. Its oldest document is of the seventh century.

Besides the Brāhmī, however, there was an ancient form of writing, the *Kharōshṭhī* or *Kharōshṭrī*,[1] which seems to have been adapted from the Aramaic script in the fifth century B.C. It was largely used in the North-West of India until about the beginning of the present era; and hundreds of documents written in its characters have been found by Sir M. A. Stein in Chinese Turkestan, where the official language of a large part of the country in the early centuries of our era was a Paiśāchī dialect imported from North-Western India. After this it died out, and apparently left no descendants.

The accompanying plate (No. VI) illustrates the chief varieties of Indian alphabets. The Kharōshṭhī and Brāhmī characters are from edicts of Aṣōka, in the third century B.C. As specimen of the early Northern script an inscription of about 761 A.D. is selected, the bracketed characters being taken from contemporary records of similar type, while the early Southern script is represented by a Kadamba inscription dating from the first half of the sixth century. With these are given the modern forms of three alphabets, the Nāgarī, Grantha, and Telugu, the first representing the Northern family, and the other two the Southern.

2. *Materials.*—The leaves and bark of trees furnish

1 The choice between these two forms is not certain; M. Sylvain Lévi prefers the latter (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, tome ii., p. 246 ff.).

a natural "paper," of which the Hindus made use from very early times. The leaves of the palm-tree (both the *Borassus flabelliformis* and the *Corypha taliera*) were always in great request for this purpose throughout the greater part of India, and are still largely used in the South. To be duly prepared, they have to be dried, boiled, again dried, smoothed with stones or shells, and then cut to an oblong shape. In the South, Orissa, Ceylon, and Further India the characters are usually incised with a style, and then lampblack or something of the kind is rubbed into them; in the North and parts of Central India they were written in ink. The front and back of the book were covered with wooden boards, which were sometimes painted, gilded, and carved. Usually two holes were bored through the book, through which a string was passed. Probably the oldest books of the kind are those which survive in the fragments brought home by the Prussian Expeditions from Turfan: the morsels of dramas published by Dr. Lüders in pt. i. of his *Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte* can hardly be later than the second century A.D. A volume of the Prajñā-pāramitā found by Sir M. A. Stein in Tunhuang is perhaps to be assigned to the fourth century.

The inner bark of the Himalayan birch-tree, smoothed and fastened together in layers, was a common material for letters and books in the North for many centuries, especially in Kashmir, where it only fell into disuse after the introduction of paper in the seventeenth century. Next to the "twists" from the *stūpas* of Afghanistan and the fragmentary Prakrit version of the Dhammapada found by M. Dutreuil de Rhins, the oldest relics of birch-bark books are the Bower Manuscript, a Sanskrit medical treatise, and the fragments of a Sanskrit text of the Saṃyuktakāgama (corresponding to the Pali Saṃyutta-nikāya) found by Sir M. A. Stein at Khadalik in Khotan, both of which may be assigned to the latter

half of the fourth century. The leaves of these books were cut to an oblong shape, with string-holes in the middle, after the pattern of palm-leaves. On the other hand, the more modern manuscripts are made like our Western books, being composed of folio sheets folded down the middle and stitched together in a leather cover.

Plates of wood or bamboo were also used, especially for documents, the words being either incised with a style or written in ink. To this class belong the many hundreds of documents discovered by Sir M. A. Stein in Khotan. They consist usually of wedge-shaped or oblong tablets made in pairs and fitting together, so that the outer tablet served as envelope to receive the address and docket, while the letter was written on the inner surface of the outer tablet. Each pair of wedges was held together by a string passing through a hole near the points and again through grooves round their other ends, where they were sealed with clay stamped by a signet (see Plate VII); the oblong tablets were similarly secured, but were fastened only round the middle.

Leather, in spite of the sanctity of the cow, was sometimes employed for writing; a number of letters written on it have been found in Khotan. Strips of linen [1] and silk served the same purpose.

Paper was an invention of the Chinese, who are said to have first made a properly felted paper of vegetable fibre in A.D. 105, and it does not seem to have been largely used in India until the Mughal period. But in Chinese Turkestan, which in a sense was a "Hinterland" of India, it was employed from the first century onwards. Besides felted paper made directly from raw vegetable substances, Sir M. A. Stein found there

[1] Linen is still used for documents in some parts of India: in Mysore, for example, strips of it are coated with a paste of tamarind seeds and blackened with charcoal, the writing being made with chalk or steatite pencils.

specimens of rag-paper prepared from the imperfectly disintegrated tissue of fabrics composed of vegetable fibres, which may be assigned to the second century A.D.[1] Possibly therefore paper may have been used in India long before the coming of the Mughals, though its use there was limited. It is noteworthy that paper MSS. as a rule were cut to the pattern of those made from palm-leaves, and were strung together and bound like them.

Stone, both in the natural state and dressed, naturally recommended itself to those who sought to inscribe a lasting record, and a vast number of such documents have been preserved. They include such disparate subjects as the records of Aśōka's pious administration, the publication of grants of land, lovesick scribbles on the walls of a cave-theatre *à propos* of a pretty nautch-girl, and long poems and dramas by kings and court-poets.

Scriptural texts, official notices, and other kinds of record were sometimes inscribed on plates of gold and silver ; but these were of course *éditions de luxe*. Some inscriptions on brass and bronze have been preserved, and the iron column at Mehrauli, near Delhi, which bears the epitaph of Chandra-gupta II (about A.D. 413), is well known. Inscribed plates of copper were very common. Sometimes their contents were literary ; but more often they were legal records, chiefly of grants of estates. Most of them were hammered out, after which the writing was chiselled on them ; the Sohgaura plate, of the Maurya period was however cast in a mould of sand. Documents composed of two or more plates

[1] The Arabs began to manufacture paper in A.D. 751 ; they learned the art from the Chinese (perhaps through the agency of Persians or Mongols), and communicated it to Europe. It is now evident that in the preparation of both kinds of paper, from rags as well as from raw vegetable fibre, their teachers were ultimately the Chinese. On the subject of the above paragraph see J. von Wiesner, *Über die ältesten bis jetzt aufgefundenen Hadernpapiere* (Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akademie d. Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 168 Bd., 5 Abh., 1911).



STATUE OF THE BUDDHA (FROM THE GUPTA PERIOD)

(see page 255)

were joined together by rings passing through holes in them. They sometimes bore the subscription of the king who had issued them, either in the same characters as the rest of the plate, or in what purports to be the royal sign-manual. Seals, bearing the impression of a signet in wax or clay, were attached to them. When the document was a single plate, the seal was fastened upon its face; but when it comprised two or more plates, the seal was fixed upon the ring, usually over the joint of its rivet. Instead of a seal we sometimes find a little image of a deity, *e.g.* Garuḍa, Gaṇēśa, etc.

Ink, which seems to have been in use as early as the fourth century B.C., was in early times made of charcoal mixed with water, sugar, gum-arabic, etc.,[1] and was applied with pens of wood or reed. A solution of chalk was also used as writing fluid, and was conveyed to the tablet by a wooden style. In the South and neighbouring regions the writing was incised on palm-leaves with metal styles. For arithmetical calculations and the like, a board whitened with pipeclay was covered with coloured powder or sand (in modern times flour dyed red or purple), on which the characters were traced with a wooden style.

[1] In modern times native ink for writing on paper is usually compounded of lamp-black, an infusion of roasted rice, a little sugar, and sometimes the juice of the *Verbesinā scandens*. Ink for palm-leaves is made from the juice of the Verbesina and a decoction of *ālṭā* (cotton impregnated with lac dye); that for birch-bark was prepared by boiling charcoal made from almonds in cow's urine.

CHAPTER X

ARCHITECTURE

1. *The Elements.*—So vast is the field of Hindu architecture that not even an outline can be attempted in the following pages. The most that can be essayed is to mark out broadly the chief divisions of the subject from the times of the earliest monuments to the beginning of the Moslem rule, and to indicate generally the most salient features of the art within these limits.

The earliest structures that have survived are the Buddhist *stūpas* or *chaityas*, normally hemispheres or smaller segments of circles upon drums, which were erected to contain relics of the Buddha, or to commemorate some event of scriptural legend. These are the nucleus from which we may trace the development of hieratic architecture. First we have independent *stūpas*, with gateways and rails, on which in course of time the plastic art lavished a boundless wealth of decorative and statuesque beauty. In the next stage, side by side with the first, the *stūpa* appears as the centre of a church, being placed in an apse at the end of a quadrangular chamber usually divided by pillars into a nave and aisles, as in the Christian basilicas. These chambers are sometimes found cut in the rock, as at Karle and Nasik, and sometimes built, *e.g.* of brick, as at Ter. How stately and beautiful these chambers might become can be seen from the annexed picture of the Karle cave (Plate IX). Then, when for the Buddhist relic is substituted the image or emblem of a god,[1] the

[1] It should not be concluded that every non-Buddhistic temple arose by

apse is changed into a closed cella, with a door, and its place as the holy of holies in the structure is marked by a spire or *śikhara*, forming with the cella a *vimāna*, while the pillared space in front of the apse becomes a roofed porch or *maṇḍapa*. Thus is evolved the typical Hindu temple.

With the *stūpas* were often associated *vihāras* or *saṅghārāmas*, monasteries, of which the normal scheme was a courtyard surrounded by cells for the monks. Naturally the *vihāras* varied immensely in details. In the early period they were often cut in the rocks, especially in the West, while elsewhere they were usually built of timber on brick foundations. As the monastic organisation developed, the *vihāras* became elaborate structures of many members, especially in the North-West, and their buildings sometimes assumed forms similar to those of the Rathas of the South, which will be described below (§ 6). They were often connected with the churches mentioned above.

2. *The Stūpa.*—The *stūpa* being the oldest type of Hindu building that has survived, it is necessary to say something as to its materials and its form.

In the period before the reign of Aśōka the foundations and plinths of large buildings were probably often of bricks, but the superstructures seem usually to have been wooden, and hence have all perished. Aśōka apparently raised a large number of buildings with brick or stone superstructures, but nothing has survived which can be ascribed with any certainty to his reign, except his monoliths.

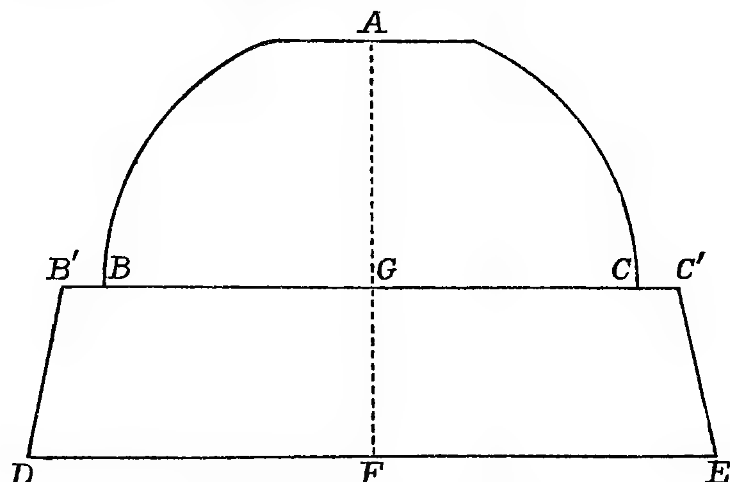
The shape of the *stūpa* is a dome, either hemispherical or somewhat smaller. Its origin is uncertain. Mr. Fergusson was of opinion that it arose from the tumulus; Mr. Vincent Smith derives it from the curvilinear

the conversion of a Buddhist relic-shrine into a cella for an idol; but we know of many cases where this process has actually taken place, and on the other hand no *stūpas* except those of Buddhists have survived.

bamboo roof over the primitive hut-shrine. Possibly the true explanation is that it represents the little mound covering the closed urn in which, according to Vedic ritual, the ashes of the dead were buried (see p. 151). However this may be, we must sharply distinguish between the Hindu and the Western types of the dome and its correlative the arch. The Western arch is formed of radiating voussoirs, the lateral thrust of which is compensated for by abutments or other devices. The Hindu structures shew no trace of this ; the arch which is common in their buildings is purely horizontal, being formed sometimes by a series of horizontal courses which cause it to culminate in a point, sometimes by the meeting of two brackets on the top of columns, and sometimes by a series of similar junctions of brackets of columns at regular intervals one from another. As we shall see, this use of the bracket is typical of the Dravidian style, while the Indo-Aryan or Northern style is characterised by the construction of the dome and arch in horizontal courses, the decoration being carried out in horizontal concentric rings, with pendants of singular grace hanging from the centre of the dome. The Hindu arch is hence structurally safer than the Roman, as the whole weight of the roof falls vertically down upon the supporting columns and their brackets. This, however, is somewhat of an anticipation, for the Hindu *stūpa*, though externally domed, was internally solid, except for the small relic-chamber which it usually contained.

A typical example of the *stūpa* is the famous Tope of Sanchi in Bhopal, of which we give a plan. Together with its rail, it may have been erected in the age of Aśōka, though its gateways are about a century later. It is a solid structure of bricks imbedded in mud cement, with a facing of dressed stones, overlaid with cement to a depth of about 4 inches, which may have once been decorated with paintings or reliefs. The round drum has a diameter at its base (DE) of 121 feet, and at its

top (B′C′) of 106 feet, its height (FG) being 14 feet. The dome, which is hemispherical, attains a height (AG) of 42 feet, and is planted upon the drum so as to leave an offset (BB′, CC′) about 6 feet in width, forming a gallery round it, which was used for the circumambulations of pious visitors ; this gallery was once surrounded by a stone rail, and was reached by a stairway on one side of the drum. On the top (A) was a flat platform about 34 feet in diameter, enclosed by a stone rail, in



Plan of the Stupa of Sanchi

the middle of which once stood what is commonly but incorrectly called the "tee" (from the Burmese *htī*, "umbrella"), namely a structure normally square and decorated in its lower part with a rail-pattern and in its upper part with a window-pattern, surmounted by three flat slabs, over which rose one above the other a series of discs representing umbrellas (see Plates VIII, IX).

While the Sanchi Tope is characteristic of the *stūpas* found in the interior of India, it differs considerably from those which exist on the North-Western Frontier. Some

which have been traced in the neighbourhood of Jalalabad are mostly smaller, but are taller in proportion to their breadth, and are erected upon square bases decorated with stucco reliefs, which stand on plinths. Upon this square base rises a round drum crowned by a belt, and over this is the dome, which is sometimes hemispherical, and sometimes more or less conical. The *stūpa* of Manikyala (possibly of the first century B.C.) has a hemispherical dome with a diameter of 127 feet and a circumference of nearly 400 feet. The drum is round, and has a circumference of 500 feet; the gallery round the top of it is 16 feet wide, and is ascended by four stairways. There are two ranges of dwarf pilasters, one round the side of the dome along the gallery, the other below the latter around the drum. Some other topes in the neighbourhood, however, shew a much more elongated outline.

The outer rail surrounding the great Sanchi Tope is instructive. It is of plain stone, nearly circular, with a diameter of about 140 feet, and broken at the north, south, east, and west by four high sculptured gateways, or *tōraṇas*, of later construction, which are covered with rich and beautiful carvings, representing emblems of Buddhist doctrine, scenes from the legends of the Buddhas, mythological figures, etc. (Plates XIX, XX). The rail itself is plainly an imitation of woodwork. It is made up of octagonal pillars, 8 feet high, at intervals of 2 feet, the tops of which are fixed by tenons into a horizontal top-rail, 2 feet 3 inches deep; below the latter, and joining the upright pillars, are three horizontal lines of intermediate rails. This simple scheme readily lent itself to decoration: first (as in the second Tope of Sanchi), round decorated discs were affixed to the middle of each pillar, and semicircular discs in similar style were put on the top and bottom, then (as in Amaravati) decorations and reliefs were applied to every member of the rail, which thus became a gorgeous

screen, entirely covered with pictures and ornaments carved in stone.

Amaravati, the site of the ancient Dharaṇī-koṭṭa, in the Guntur District of Madras Presidency, furnishes a magnificent example of the most ornamental type of structures of this kind. This *stūpa* seems to have been founded about 200 B.C.; but the great rail enclosing it and most of the other surviving sculptures were made about the end of the second century A.D., or perhaps a little later. The rail has a circumference of about 600 feet and a diameter of 192 feet. It consists of vertical marble slabs on plinths, supporting a coping. The body of the *stūpa*, with a diameter of 162½ feet, was also completely faced with marble slabs, and the dome was covered with stucco and adorned with wreaths and medallions. The whole of the surface—the inner and outer faces of the rail and the *stūpa* itself—was decorated with pictures and ornaments carved with the utmost skill and verve, as may be seen from Plate XXIII.

3. *The Temple.*—We have already indicated the lines on which the *stūpa* placed in an apse of a pillared hall developed into the typical temple. We may now survey the chief styles of temple-architecture in the best period. The chief members of a temple are (1) the cella or shrine, which has arisen from the apse containing the *stūpa* or the image, (2) the spire or tower (*śikhara*), which has been raised over the cella to mark its place of honour, and which with the cella forms the *vimāna*, (3) the porch or *maṇḍapa*, facing the cella, which has grown out of the other part of the primitive church.

4. *The Indo-Aryan Style.*—This type prevails in the North of India, from the southern border of the Himalaya down to the northern frontier of the Dekhan. A salient feature is the ribbed spire or *śikhara*, which has a curvilinear or bulging outline, but in plan is rectilinear, for its lines never form a segment of a circle. It

has therefore been conjectured by Mr. Fergusson that this spire is evolved from the principle of the horizontal arch (see above, p. 234).[1] In the older temples the spire was usually rather low, becoming more slender and lofty as time went on. It is usually crowned by an *amalaka*, a round coping-stone vertically scalloped, over which is placed a low dome of reverse curvature, surmounted by a vase-shaped pinnacle or *kalaśa*. In older temples *amalakas* are often used as ornamental courses at regular intervals along the body of the spire, dividing it into smaller compartments; and the spire is often divided by vertical bands.

The internal plan of this style is a square; but externally this shape is usually modified by the addition of one or more projections attached to the sides. In course of time these projections increased in number and width, which caused each side to develop more or less into an angle, so that the building assumed an outline approximating to a square, the sides of which were parallel to the diagonals of the original central square.

The famous temples of Orissa, and especially those of Bhuvaneswar, are excellent specimens of the Indo-Aryan style in its most striking stages of development. Their essential plan nearly always consists of a twofold structure, comprising a building enshrining the cella, usually cubical, with a curvilinear tower, and in front of it a porch, more or less square, with a pyramidal roof. Any other buildings that may be added to it are later, and subordinate to the original design. The older temples of Bhuvaneswar, which have been assigned to the period A.D. 650–900, have spires of very moderate elevation, surmounted by *amalakas*, and walled porches with low massive roofs. Though they are often richly carved, they have usually no pillars inside. Others of the same group, of a somewhat later date, shew a high

[1] According to another theory, that of Mr. W. Simpson, it is modelled on the domed hut of bamboo.



WALL-PAINTING, FROM DANDAN UILIQ, KHOTAN

(see page 259)

spire, of which the lines rise almost vertically until near the summit; the roofs of the porches are loftier, and there is a greater abundance of carving on the panels, but still there are practically no columns. The finest example of this style is the Great Temple or Linga-rāja, built probably about the eleventh century. It has the plan usual in temples of Orissa, and with its somewhat later appendages (two porticoes, styled *nāṭa-maṇḍapa* or dancing saloon and *bhōga-maṇḍapa* or refectory) attains a total length of about 210 feet, its breadth being between 60 and 75 feet. Its spire, with a breadth of about 66 feet from angle to angle and a height of over 180 feet, is entirely covered with the most delicate carving, and has eight smaller copies of itself on each face, while the porch has a high pyramidal roof. A third stage is shown in the little Rāja-rānī temple, probably built in the eleventh or twelfth century, in which the spire is very elongated and the whole surface covered with columns and exquisite sculpture. The temple of Ḳonarak, though constructed in the thirteenth century, has preserved almost intact a singularly fine porch, which closely resembles that of the Great Temple of Bhuvaneswar.

Another fine example of this type in its maturity is the Kandarya Mahā-dēva temple at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand, belonging to a group probably built in the tenth or eleventh century of gneiss, with details in sandstone (Plate X). Its length is 109 feet, its breadth 60 feet, and its height above the ground 116 feet. The spire is built up of smaller spires, and the decoration and statuary are extremely rich and beautiful.

This style, in various stages of development, survives in many buildings of Northern and Central India, and is still repeated in modern structures, usually in a debased form, and often with an admixture of Moslem elements, especially the dome. An interesting variant is the style native to Bengal, which is characterised by

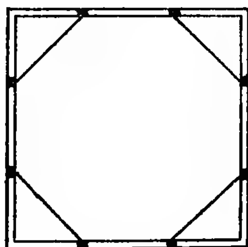
a curved cornice, imitated from the bamboo roofs of the huts of Bengal. It is graceful, but lacks dignity and repose. Finally it may be mentioned that in comparatively modern times a large number of secular buildings—chiefly palaces and cenotaphs—have been constructed, to which the Indo-Aryan style has been adapted, often with good effect.

5. *The Jain Style.*—This term is somewhat unsatisfactory, as is likewise the even looser "Gujarati" or "Western Style." The Jain temples, though they usually display certain characteristic details—notably the octagonal dome—and of course are decorated with the special themes of Jain mythology, do not as a rule form a distinct class in general type; in the North they usually are of the Indo-Aryan school, in the South of the Dravidian. In many cases, however, their peculiar features are developed to such an extent as almost to justify us in putting them into a separate category, and hence we may give a short section to the subject.

From early times the Jains were active as builders. Two of their temples on Mount Abu, those built by Vimala (A.D. 1031) and the brothers Tējaḥ-pāla and Vastu-pāla (A.D. 1230), are exceptionally beautiful specimens of their variety of Indo-Aryan architecture. Externally they are not imposing, the spires being low pyramids; but the interiors are finely constructed of white marble and carved with amazing delicacy and richness. Their plan is typical of the Northern Jain school. In front of the square cella is a closed *maṇḍapa*, before which is a portico rising in a dome springing from architraves that rest upon eight columns arranged as in the accompanying plan.[1] In the porch of Vimala's temple there are forty-eight free columns, which, like the rest of the building, are exquisitely carved; and the surrounding courtyard, measuring internally 128 feet by 75 feet, is

[1] The use of the dome in interiors, which is common among the Jains, is rare in Brahmanic buildings.

enclosed by a double colonnade of smaller pillars, behind which stands a range of fifty-two cells, each containing the image of a *tīrthankara* or apostle. The temple of Vastu-pāla and Tējaḥ-pāla is very similar in design, and both shew the rich sculpture characteristic of the style, especially on the marble ceilings of their domes, from the centres of which hang graceful pendants. Another typical feature is their free use of struts: the great columns of the porch are surmounted by bracket-capitals, and upon these are placed shorter columns, which support the architraves of the dome, and to ease the weight of the latter undulating struts of white marble are carried from the top of the bracket-capitals of the lower columns to the architraves, forming a kind of pierced arch.



In the Dekhan and South, and especially at Sravana Belgola in Mysore, there are numerous Jain temples, usually in the Dravidian style, except in the Kanara country, where their external appearance somewhat resembles that of a type of building common in Nepal, the eaves having a reverse slope above the verandahs, while in internal arrangement they do not greatly differ from the Jain temples of the North. In medieval and modern times the Jains have built many sanctuaries in various parts of India, especially in Bombay Presidency, some of which are very elaborate structures.

6. *The Dravidian Style.*—This style is called Dravidian because it is characteristic of the Dravidian country south of the Kistna river (almost identical with Madras Presidency). In its natural form it has for characteristic features: (1) a square *vimāna* or building enclosing the central cella, with a pyramidal roof of rectilinear plan, divided by horizontal bands into storeys and culminating in a barrel-roof or a dome; (2) *maṇ-*

R

ḍapas or porches fronting the door leading into the cella; (3) *gōpuras* or pyramidal gateways in the quadrangle around the temple, which usually are taller than the central *vimāna*, and hence dwarf it; (4) halls with elaborate columnation; (5) ranges of simulated cells on the roofs; (6) a cornice of double flexure; (7) conventional lions or *yāḷis* used in ornament; (8) the use of the bracket as the leading principle of construction (above, p. 234); (9) free use of compound columns and detached shafts.

The earliest specimens of this type are probably the Rathas of Mamallapuram or Mahavallipuram, five small unfinished models of temples cut in the granite rock during the seventh century A.D., which local tradition assigns to the five Pāṇḍava brethren and their wife Draupadī (see above, p. 10). The finest of them is the Dharma-rāja Ratha, or sanctuary of Yudhi-shṭhira (Plate XI). It is 26 feet 9 inches by 28 feet 8 inches, with a height of about 35 feet. It well illustrates some of the chief features of Southern style. The three upper storeys of the roof are adorned with small cells, with semicircular dormer windows in and between them; and behind the cells the wall is divided by pilasters into panels carved with figures of gods.

Next in age are the Pallava temples of Conjevaram, the oldest of which date from the seventh century. They are generally well proportioned, and their *gōpuras* do not dwarf the *vimānas*, as usually happens in later Dravidian buildings. Their *vimānas* correspond closely to the square Rathas of Mamallapuram, and their *gōpuras* to the oblong Rathas of the same site; and this rule has been followed by all later generations of Southern architects. The simplest type of these temples is a square shrine approached by a small porch, with or without columns; but two of them—the Kailāsa-ratha and Vaikuṇṭha Peru-māḷ—are more elaborate, having intermediate columnated porches or *ardha-maṇḍapas*

leading from the main porches or *mahā-maṇḍapas* to the shrine, the whole being enclosed in quadrangular precincts.

To the latter half of the eighth century belongs the Kailāsa of Elura, a complete temple cut out of the rock. The *vimāna*, which is surrounded by five cells, is 96 feet high, and is approached by a square porch, in front of which is a porch for the divine bull of Śiva, the whole being entered by a main gateway (Plate XII).

About A.D. 1000 Rāja-rāja Chōḷa built the great temple of Tanjore (Plate XIII). It is contained in two courtyards, one being about 250 feet square, the other about 500 by 250 feet. The *vimāna*, rising in a pyramid of thirteen storeys upon a base 82 feet square, reaches a height of 190 feet. Rāja-rāja's son Rājēndra reproduced this building on a smaller scale in a temple erected by him at Gangaikondapuram. To the same century also may be attributed the beautiful temple of Subrahmaṇya at Tanjore (Plate XIV). The great majority of Southern temples, however, are not earlier than the fourteenth century, and though some of them (for instance the wonderful *gōpuras* of Tadpatri) display immense wealth of decoration, they are marked in general by a continuous decay in purity of taste and sense of proportion in design.

7. *The Dekhani or Chalukyan Style.*—This type is represented by remains of temples in the Dekhan, in the territories once ruled by the Western and Eastern branches of the Chalukyas. It seems to have been evolved from the Dravidian style, but shews considerable independence in the lines of its development: "the earlier Chalukyan temples preserved on the whole the general plan of the Dravidian shrines, but the corners were made more prominent by flat increments placed on them, whilst the projections on the walls were but slight, the central one on each face of the shrine being made much broader and more important. The śikhara

and roof soon lost the distinctively Southern storeyed form and became stepped, forming pyramids of different heights, with breaks corresponding to those of the walls, and with broad bands up the sides of the śikhara answering to the larger face in the middle of each side of the shrine. Later, the plan often became star-shaped, the projecting angles lying in circles whose centres were in the middle of the shrine and maṇḍapa respectively. The broader faces on the sides, however, were retained for the principal images of the cult. The pillars supporting the roof of the halls or maṇḍapas were arranged in squares . . . they are massive, often circular, richly carved and highly polished. . . . Their capitals are wide, with numerous thin mouldings immediately below the abacus; and under these is a square block, whilst the middle of the shaft is carved with circular mouldings. . . . Generally the temples stand on a terrace, sometimes 10 to 15 feet wide, quite surrounding them, and from 3 to 6 feet in height."[1] They were constructed without mortar, and usually decorated externally with figures and ornamental designs carved with the utmost skill on the face of the stone.

A good example of the type is the temple of Belur in Mysore, apparently built by the Hoysaḷa king Vishṇuvardhana early in the twelfth century. Its length is altogether 115 feet; it consists of a star-shaped *vimāna* separated by a vestibule from a star-shaped columnated porch 90 feet wide (Plate XV).

The most splendid example of the type is the Hoysaḷēśvara temple at Halebid, the ancient Dōrasamudra. It was probably begun about A.D. 1200, and was never completed; its height, from the terrace to the cornice, is only about 25 feet, and the originally designed spires and roofs have never been built. But even in this imperfect condition it is unsurpassed by

[1] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. by J. Burgess and R. P. Spiers, vol. i., p. 423.



Painted Panel, from Dandan Uiliq

(see page 260)

any Indian temple in both its structural and its decorative features. It extends over an area of about 200 square feet, the temple proper being 160 feet north and south by 122 feet east and west, and is made of a volcanic potstone. Its plan is similar to that of the temple of Belur, but is double, comprising two star-shaped shrines, two vestibules, and two star-shaped pillared main porches, side by side, and, in addition to these, two pillared porches for the divine bull of Śiva, one in front of each main porch. The outer face of the building is surrounded by bands of friezes in high relief running round the whole structure; beginning from the base, they represent respectively (1) elephants and their riders, (2) lions and tigers, (3) scroll decoration, (4) a line of horsemen, (5) scroll decoration, (6) scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa, (7) conventional animals, (8) on the eastern face scenes from life, surmounted by a cornice topped by a rail divided into panels with two figures in each, and above this windows of pierced stone. Instead of windows the central face bears a band of scroll pattern surmounted by a frieze about 5 feet 6 inches high and 400 feet long, continued round the western front, and representing gods and goddesses.

8. *The Kashmiri Style.*—In Kashmir there flourished from the eighth to the thirteenth century a peculiar style, characterised by (1) two or even more superimposed roofs rising up in steep pyramids, and relieved by dormer windows, (2) trefoil arches with high triangular pediments, and (3) porticoes supported by columns with Doric shafts, usually of a height of three or four diameters, and with dentil ornaments and sixteen flutings. A typical example is the well known temple of Mārtāṇḍa near Islamabad; it was built by Lalitāditya about A.D. 750.

9. *The Nepali Style.*—The existing structures of Nepal are comparatively modern. Many of them are obviously based on foreign models, those of the Śivaite cult being

influenced from the North, and those of the Vishṇuite church shewing the style of the Gangetic plains. But a certain number are found which are remarkably like the typical Chinese temples. Some of them are of many storeys, divided by sloping roofs and tapering upwards, to culminate in a small *stūpa*. Of the older *stūpa* or *chaitya* type some traces remain ; certain specimens have the degraded Tibetan form, in which the dome of the *stūpa* has almost vanished, while the line of umbrellas over the tee has swollen into a tower of nine or thirteen storeys.

APPENDIX

The following is a classified list of the most important architectural monuments of ancient India.

Pillars.—A considerable number of the pillars set up by Aśōka survive, notably those of Allahabad, the Kotila of Fīrōz Shāh Tughlaḳ at Delhi, Karle, Lauriya-Araraj, Lauriya-Nandangarh, Nigliva, Rampurwa, Rummindei, Sankisa, and Sarnath. Of later date are those of Bedsa, Eran, Kanheri, the Iron Pillar of Delhi, etc.

Stūpas.—These are of course numerous. Of those in the North-West, mention may be made of the Stūpas at Ahinposh (near Jalalabad), Ali Masjid (in the Khaibar), Chahar Bagh (near Jalalabad), Chakdara and Chakpat (in Swat), Daranta and Hidda (near Jalalabad), Ishpola (in the Khaibar), Manikyala (Panjab), Peshawar (founded by Kanishka), Sultanpur (near Jalalabad), and Topdarra (in Swat).

In other regions of India the most important are those of Amaravati, Bharhut, Bhattiprolu, Bhilsa (including besides smaller buildings the great Tope of Sanchi-Kanakheda described above, and in the neighbourhood remains at Andher, Bhojpur, Satdhara, Sonari, etc.), Bodh Gaya (perhaps of the sixth century A.D., but with later alterations), Ghantasala, Giriyek, Jaggayyapeta, Kesariya, Piprahwa, Sarnath (at Dhamek, near Sarnath, probably of the sixth century), Sopara, and Thal Rukhan (near Daulatpur).

Buddhist Caves.—A number of these exist, some of them simple rock-cut chambers, others of the basilica type mentioned above (p. 232). Most of the older specimens of the latter, and some of the former, have a façade imitating a wooden structure, the doorway being surmounted by a horseshoe arch with ogee fronton, and the jambs of the doors in the older specimens sloping. The earliest are those near Rajgir (the ancient Rāja-gṛiha) in Bihar ; some of them, however, were

tenanted by Jains and Ājīvikas. A few (as at Barabar, near Gaya) date from the time of Aśōka, and others are not much later. Rock-cut places of worship are fairly numerous in Bombay Presidency and the neighbourhood; there the chief are those at Bhaja and Kondane (about 200 B.C.), Bedsa, Nasik, and Pitalkhora (all about the second century B.C.), Karle (first century B.C.), Ajanta (two caves of perhaps the first century B.C., others much later), Junnar (A.D. 100–300), Kanheri (about A.D. 180), and the Viśva-karmā, Don Tal, and Tin Tal caves at Elura (about A.D. 500–650). A few have been found elsewhere, *e.g.* at Bagh (A.D. 500–600), Besnagar, Dhamnar (about A.D. 500–600), and Kholvi in Rajputana, and Guntupalle in Madras (perhaps second century B.C.); and a few others exist in the Panjab and Afghanistan.

To several of these are attached regular *vihāras* or Buddhist monasteries, *e.g.* in the two oldest Ajanta caves, and those at Bagh, Bedsa, Bhaja, Dhamnar, Elura, Kanheri, Karle, Kondane, Nasik, and Pitalkhora. Rock-cut *vihāras* have also been found at Aurangabad (seventh or eighth century), Karhad, Kuda (second century ?), Mahad, etc.

Structural Churches of the Buddhists, or Chaitya-halls, of the kind mentioned above (p. 232), are rare; but good specimens still exist at Chezarla, Sanchi, and Ter, and ruins at Guntupalle and elsewhere.

Structural Vihāras also occur. Most important are those at Jamalgarai, Takht-i-Bahai, and Sahri-Bahlol, in the region of Peshawar, and Shah-dheri, the ancient Taksha-śilā, near Hasan Abdal. Of the once magnificent university of Nālanda (now Baragaon, near Rajgir) only slight traces remain. Some vestiges of *vihāras* exist also at Kasia, Sarnath, Sultanganj, etc.

Caves and Temples cut in rocks by other communities are fairly numerous. The oldest are probably the Jain caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills in Orissa, the earliest of which (the Hathigumpha, etc.) date from the middle of the second century B.C. Of Jain caves, mention may be made of those at Aihole (seventh century A.D. ?), Ankai (eleventh or twelfth century ?), Badami (sixth century), Rajgir in Bihar (the Sonbhandar cave about A.D. 200, others of uncertain date), Chamar Lena near Nasik (eleventh or twelfth century ?), Dharasinwa, Girnar, Gwalior (between 1441 and 1474), Junagarh, and Kanhar, near Pitalkhora.

Of a more ambitious type are the temples carved by the Jains out of the solid rock in imitation of structural temples. Of these the most important are the Indra-sabhā, Jagan-nātha-sabhā, and other Jain portions of the Elura caves. They are quite in the early Dravidian style, and belong to the period between 800 and 1100 A.D. Another of the same class is that at Kalugumalai in Tinnevelly, which was perhaps cut in the tenth or eleventh century.

Similar temples were hewn out of the rock for Brahmanic worship.

The finest are the Brahmanic section of the Elura caves, constructed probably between A.D. 650 and 850, and the Elephanta caves on Salsette. Others are found at Amba in Haidarabad, Badami (sixth or seventh century A.D. ?), Bhamburde, near Poona, Dhamnar (eighth century), etc.

The Indo-Aryan Style is exemplified by a very large number of buildings, chiefly in the northern parts of India. Among them may be mentioned the Brahmanic temples at Aihole (Huchchimalligudi, about the seventh century A.D.), Amarkantak, near Ajmirgarh, Baroli (ninth or tenth century), Bhitargaon in Cawnpore District (fourth century ?), Bhuvaneswar (see p. 238), Brindaban (temple of Gōvinda-dēva 1590, others of the same period and later), Chandravati, near Abu (from the ninth century downwards), Chitorgarh (fifteenth century), Cuttack, Gwalior (Chaturbhuja temple A.D. 875, Tēlī-kā mandir tenth or eleventh century, Sās-bahū 1093), Kalyan, near Bombay (eleventh century), Khajuraho (tenth to eleventh century), Konarak (the "Black Pagoda," of the thirteenth century), Konch, in South Bihar (eighth century ?), Mukhalingam, Nagda, near Udaipur (between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries), Osia (eighth century), Pattadakal, Puri (the Jagan-nātha temple, twelfth century), Sinnar (eleventh century ?), Somnath (twelfth century), and Udaipur, in Gwalior (eleventh century ?). The famous Viśvēśvara temple at Benares dates only from the eighteenth century.

Of *Jain* temples in Northern India the most important include those at Mount Abu (the sanctuary of Ādi-nātha, and those of Nēmi-nātha built by Vimala and the brothers Tējaḥ-pāla and Vastu-pāla), Bhangarh, Bheraghat, near Jabalpur, Chandravati, near Abu, Girnar (including that of Nēmi-nātha built by Tējaḥ-pāla and Vastu-pāla in 1230), Gyaraspur (twelfth century ?), Khajuraho (temples of Pārśva-nātha, Ādi-nātha, Ghaṇṭāī, etc., the last perhaps of the eleventh century), Kundalpur (modern), Lakkundi (tenth century), Mukanddwara, Mukhtagiri, near Gawilgarh (mostly modern), Nagda, near Udaipur (twelfth to fifteenth century?), Osia (eighth century ?), Palitana (Mount Śatruṃjaya, a great congeries, some of the oldest buildings perhaps being of the eleventh century), Parasnath or Sammēda-śikhara (south of Rajmahal, in Bengal), Ranipur Jharial (near Sambhalpur, Patna), Ranpur in Jodhpur (the chief temple fifteenth century), Sonagarh in Bundelkhand (mostly modern), etc.

Of the *Dravidian Style* we may cite as examples the Brahmanic temples at Avudaiyar-kovil, Badami (Malegitti, seventh century ?), Chidambaram (a complex, parts of which may be as old as the tenth century), Conjevaram (Pallava temples dating from the seventh century downwards, and some later sanctuaries), Diguva Ahobilam (sixteenth century), Elura (rock-cut : see p. 243), Gangaikondapuram, Kumbakonam, Kurugodu, in Bellary District, Madura (the great temple built by Tirumalai Nāyak between 1623 and 1645, besides

his Vasanta-maṇḍapam and palace), Mamallapuram (see p. 242), Pattadakal (temples of seventh and eighth centuries), Perur, Rameswaram (older part from fifteenth century ?), Srirangam, Srisailam, Tadpatri (two temples, of fifteenth to sixteenth centuries ?), Tanjore (see p. 243), Taramangalam, Tinnevelly (thirteenth century ?), Tiruvalur, Vellore, Vijayanagar (in and around Hampi, Bellary District; some ruins perhaps of the fourteenth century; temple of Viṭhōba or Viṭṭhalasvāmi, sixteenth century), and Virinchipuram, near Vellore.

Jain temples in this style are fairly numerous in the South. Among them are the group at Sravana Belgola, Aihole (A.D. 634–635), and Pattadakal.

Of the *Dekhani or Chalukyan Style* the chief remains are those at Anumakonda or Hanamkonda (A.D. 1162), Balagami (twelfth century ?), Belur (A.D. 1117), Buchchanapalli, Chaudadampur (eleventh century ?), Dambal, Kuruvatti, Gadag (perhaps tenth century, and later), Galaganath (eleventh century ?), Halebid (the Kēdārēśvara of about 1219 and Hoysaḷēśvara described on p. 244), Ittagi (eleventh century ?), Kukkanur, near Ittagi, Lakkundi (tenth century ?), Lakshmeswar (before eleventh century), Nuggehalli, and Somnathpur (late thirteenth century ?). A group in Bellary District is intermediate between the Dravidian and Dekhani styles, with a preponderance of the former.

The *Kashmiri Style* survives in the temples of Avanti-pura or Vantipor (between 855 and 883), Bhaniyar or Buniar, Mārtāṇḍa, Pandrethan (early tenth century), Payer (tenth century), Śaṅkara-pura or Patan (between 883 and 902), and Waniyat.

In *Nepal* the most important Buddhist temples are those of Bodhnath and Swayambhunath near Kathmandu. There is a great complex of Śivaite temples at Pasupati, and a rather fine sanctuary of Bhavānī at Bhatgaon. Those of Mahā-dēva and Kṛishṇa at Patan are also noteworthy.

Pillars are occasionally found, and some of them are of great beauty; examples are those of Balagami, Dharwar, Elura, Jajpur, Puri, and Sompalle, besides the Buddhist columns mentioned above. Many have been raised by the Jains, especially in the South. There are also some monumental gateways or *kīrtti-stambhas*, notably those at Galaganath, Gyaraspur, Mudhera, Pathari, Rajasamudra, Rewa, Siddhapur, Vadnagar, and Warangal, and a few medieval towers, such as those of Chitor.

CHAPTER XI

SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

I.—SCULPTURE

1. *The Earliest Period.*—The oldest extant Hindu sculptures are probably those which decorate the pillars set up by Aśōka. These pillars are tall monolithic shafts surmounted by capitals consisting of a "Persepolitan bell" crowned by an abacus with bas-reliefs along its edge and upon the abacus a figure or figures, usually of animals, but sometimes a symbol, or a combination of both. The whole is executed in vigorous and skilful technique, the animals especially being carved with a realistic power and a verve that make them a fitting prelude to the works of the next century. While there is much in their design that suggests a distant influence of Persian and ultimately of Assyrian models—an influence traceable through the sculptures of Bharhut and Sanchi down to the fifth century A.D.—the workmanship is essentially Hindu: the native craftsmen, though they or their forefathers have derived some of their ideas from foreign sources, have thoroughly assimilated them and made them all their own. There survive also a few remains of statues, of some merit, which may belong to the same century.

Of the monuments of the second century B.C., the stone rail[1] at Bodh Gaya, decorated with good low reliefs, is interesting; but it is entirely thrown into the shade by the rich treasures of sculpture found at Bharhut

[1] On the history of the Buddhist rail, see above, p. 236.

and Sanchi. At Bharhut, between Allahabad and Jabalpur, was discovered a *stūpa* with a stone rail and gateways, richly carved with graceful decorations and spirited illustrations of the legends of the Buddha in his previous incarnations and his latest birth and of divers Buddhist themes. The rail is 7 feet 1 inch in height, with coping stones of about the same length. The work, part of which is illustrated by the accompanying plates (Nos. XVII, XVIII),[1] was executed in the first half of the second century B.C. Not less striking is the sculpture on the gateways of the great Tope of Sanchi, a structure described in our previous chapter (pp. 234 ff.). The four gateways, which are 34 feet in height, consist each of two upright square columns 14 feet high, joined by three slightly curved architraves, and surmounted by emblems and figures, the whole surface on both faces being crowded with reliefs of decorative motives and scenes of Buddhist legend.[2] The accompanying plates (Nos. XIX, XX) give some conception of the splendour of this work, which is probably to be dated in the latter half of the second century B.C.

It will be observed that in these and in other Buddhist sanctuaries the most frequent emblems are the elephant, tree, wheel, and *chaitya* or *stūpa*. This is because they represent in symbolic form the essence of Buddhism. According to the sacred legend, the Conception of the Master was revealed to his mother Māyā in a vision of the descent of an elephant; the tree is the sacred Bo or *bōdhi-vṛiksha* under which he attained illumination; the "Wheel of the Law" symbolises the preaching of his doctrine; and the *chaitya* typifies the

[1] Plate XVIII illustrates the legend of the gift of the Jēta-vana Monastery to the Buddha by the merchant Anātha-piṇḍika, who is said to have bought it for as many pieces of gold as were needed to cover its surface. The artist of Bharhut shews us the layer of coins, which, it will be observed, are square; see p. 211 f.

[2] On the scenes here depicted from the Eastern Gate, see A. Foucher, *La Porte Orientale du Stûpa de Sânchi.*

parinirvāṇa or perfect stillness of transcendent peace into which he passed away at death. Still more noteworthy is it that amidst all the incidents of his last incarnation portrayed in these early carvings the Master himself is never represented; it is not until the next period, when Greek example had taught the Hindus to lift the eye of the flesh to holiest things, that his bodily figure is seen in art.

In this early Buddhist sculpture there is a singular charm. Over and above its wealth of ornament and skill of technique, it is instinct with a remarkable freshness of feeling and a wholesome joy of life, which at Bharhut breaks out into scenes of broad humour. This warmth of healthy humanity is characteristic of all the best Buddhist art, and was only partly repressed by the classic reserve of the Gandhara school, which next appears on the scene.

2. *The Gandhara School.*—Until the rise of the "Mathura school," the great tradition of Bharhut and Sanchi survives only in a few scattered fragments, none of them of very striking merit. It is thrown into the shade by a new movement, which seems to have arisen in the first century B.C., and flourished in full maturity between A.D. 50 and 200. This was the "Gandhara school," so called because its centre was in the region of Gandhara, the North-Western frontier, and most of its finest creations have been found there. It arose from the adaptation of Hellenistic models to the older art of India, which gradually assimilated them to its own spirit. The Buddhism of Northern India adopted the Gandhara art as the noblest medium to express its ideals, and carried it in sculpture and painting through Central Asia to China, Korea, and Japan. In Southern India its influence upon the older schools was limited, but is nevertheless distinctly traceable, not only in the removal of the ban upon the portrayal of the Buddha, but also in a number of small details.

The phrase "Gandhara school" is a collective term denoting the labours of many artists working in various materials through several generations, with a considerable variety of technique. Sometimes they blindly copied Hellenistic models, with the dubious success due to clever imitation. Usually, however, they did more: together with the figures, draperies, and motives which they borrowed from Hellenism, they imported a spirit of Greek refinement and dignity, of beauty and harmony, which raised the forms of the older art to a nobler level, without weakening its sincerity and broad humanity. Their most notable work was to create the classical types of the Buddha, which were soon accepted as canonical by the whole Buddhist world. But their interests had not the limitations of a merely hieratic or courtly school: they extended beyond the delineation of Buddhas and deities to every sphere of life. We illustrate their dramatic method from two sculptures, both in the British Museum. On Plate XXI is shown their treatment of a pathetic Buddhist legend, the story of Nanda, who was made to take the vows by his half-brother the Buddha; and Plate XXII reproduces a scene from the Śibi Jātaka, portraying king Śibi's sacrifice of his own flesh to save a dove from a hawk, and exhibiting a striking width of human sympathies, which embrace alike god, king, merchant, and executioner.[1]

The material in which the Gandhara sculptors worked was most frequently a blue horn-blende schist or clay slate; often this was touched up with plaster, and the carving coloured and gilded. They also made much use of stucco and terra-cotta; vast quantities of stucco statues and terra-cotta figurines, heads, and other pieces have

[1] On this sculpture see the article by M. Longworth Dames and T. A. Joyce in *Man*, Feb. 1913. The old Buddhist *chaitya* at Chezarla has been appropriated to the worship of Śiva Kapōtēśvara, who in the Brahmanic version of the story was the deity who tested and rewarded Śibi; see Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. by J. Burgess, vol. i., p. 127.

been discovered not only in the North-West of India, but also in the excavations made by Sir M. Aurel Stein and other recent explorers in Chinese Turkestan.

Many of the types of figures represented in Gandhara art are obviously borrowed from Greek sculpture ; and a certain number of its decorative motives also seem to come from the West, for example its frequent Corinthian columns,[1] pilasters, and capitals (sometimes with small figures of Buddha inserted among the acanthus leaves), the undulating roll carried by human figures (originally by Erotes, but by men at Mathura, Sarnath, and Amaravati), the Atlantes of Jamalgarai, and probably the Doric columns of Kashmir (above, p. 245).[2] But it is only on the surface that the best Gandhara work is affected by Hellenistic influence ; its religious spirit, its ideals of beauty, its various types of gods and men, are all essentially Indian.

3. *Later Schools.*—During the first three centuries of the Christian era schools of sculpture flourished in other regions of Northern India, and have left noteworthy traces, especially at Mathura, Sarnath, and Amaravati. The relics found at Mathura and Sarnath may be grouped together. Some of them are quite Hellenistic, and others shew traces of Greek influence in detail ; but in the main their technique is very like that of the sculptors of Bharhut and Sanchi. The joyous humanity of the older schools indeed is sometimes carried rather too far by the artists of Mathura, in whose hands it repeatedly degenerates into a somewhat coarse animalism. A number of their subjects are frankly bacchanalian, and their general spirit is wanton and sensual. Maṭhura was the home of the worship of Kṛishṇa, and its ancient sculptures mutely bear witness to the presence of the spirit of the cult. An agreeable exception is the fine statue

[1] These, however, are not fluted.

[2] It may be observed that *Ionic* columns and capitals are exceedingly rare in India. We know of about four certain cases, besides two pre-Gandharan fragments with volutes suggesting those of Ionia.



PAINTED PANEL, FROM DANDAN UILIQ

(*see page 260*)

of a Bōdhi-sattva in the Mathura Museum (Catalogue, pl. 7). Its austere dignity and repose recall the spirit of Gandhara, but much of its technique is derived from the older schools.

From the great *stūpa* of Amaravati, which we have described above (p. 237), a large number of marble slabs have been preserved. Casts of them, with some original pieces, may be seen on the Great Staircase of the British Museum, and a specimen is reproduced on Plate XXIII. They are covered with most exquisite and brilliant decorations and scenes of Buddhist legend, executed in a manner which is essentially the ancient style of Bharhut and Sanchi, but with some influence of Gandhara in details, such as the occasional portrayal of the Buddha in person, the motive of the undulating roll borne by human figures, etc. In them the ancient tradition seems to have nerved itself for a supreme effort of intensest energy and fulness of ornamentation.

Under the Gupta dynasty, from the fourth to the sixth centuries of the Christian era, art flourished, and sculpture was devoted to the cults of Śiva and Vishṇu, as well as to the service of Buddhism. The designs of ornamentation, largely floral or imitative of jeweller's work, are often singularly delicate and refined; figures are usually carved with grace and beauty, and style in general shews with much power considerable dignity and reserve. Except in the portrayal of the Buddha in person—who in this period is usually represented with a halo encircled by a band of floral decoration—there is no longer any definite trace of specifically Gandharan technique; but the fine Buddhas in the British Museum, one of which is represented on Plate XXIV, are conceived and executed in a spirit that owes much to a Gandharan past.

From the age of the Guptas and the decline of Buddhism the tradition of Hindu sculpture lasted on for many centuries without any essential change, though

with many temporal and local variations, and even at the present day, though depressed, is not extinct. The surviving sculptures of this later epoch are enormous in quantity, and often good in quality, for instance in many of the temples that have been described above. The famous carvings of the caves of Elura are as a rule overrated, for they are marked by the fantastic and grotesque spirit of their age; but their dramatic energy and co-ordination of movement are striking. The sculptures of the South are for the most part late, and wanting in purity of taste and artistic inspiration; exceptions, such as the fine group of Śiva and his worshippers at Trichinopoly (about the seventh century, and hence nearer to the Gupta schools) and the carvings of Gangaikondapuram (early eleventh century), are rare.[1] In general, art throughout India tended to become more and more uncontrolled in spirit. The warmth of feeling that had formerly inspired the sculptors of Bharhut and Sanchi rose in their descendants to a fever, sometimes even a delirium of passion, that not rarely found expression in a grotesque and even loathsome extravagance. Heated imagination, debauching the purity of art, begot a spurious method which expressed power by the symbolism of monstrous multiplication; and sculpture became a field in which every human emotion wantoned in unmeasured license. Amazing as were the technical skill of many of the medieval sculptors, their lavishness of labour in an infinity of delicate detail, and their frequent vigour in the expression of power and

[1] The colossi of the Jains in the South deserve special mention, though their artistic merit is not high. The most remarkable are the monolithic figures of Gommaṭa or Bāhu-balin, a legendary Jain saint, on the Indragiri at Sravana Belgola and at Karkala and Yenur in South Kanara, which are respectively 58 ft., 41 ft. 5 in., and *circa* 35 ft. in height. That of Karkala dates from 1432, that of Yenur from 1604; that of Sravana Belgola is said to have been made about the end of the tenth century. All these figures are represented in the state of nakedness usual with Digambara Jain saints, with creeping plants twined round their limbs and serpents at their feet.

feeling, we miss in them the nobler and chaster spirit of the older artists, who by repressing much expressed the more.

II.—PAINTING

1. *Ancient Remains in India.*—The art of painting records its ideals on frail materials, hence its early history in India lies in darkness, and its monuments until the Mughal period are few. The oldest paintings are probably those in the Jogimara Cave on Ramgarh Hill in Surguja State (Central Provinces), which may be of the second century B.C.; but they are still awaiting publication, and meanwhile our knowledge of ancient painting within the borders of Hindustan is almost limited to the art represented by Ajanta.

The caves of Ajanta, twenty-nine in number, lie four miles west by north-west of the little town of that name in the Nizam's Dominions. They are Buddhist sanctuaries: four of them contain *chaityas*, and the rest are *vihāras* or monasteries. The paintings on the walls of these caves for the most part depict themes of Buddhist legend, and the majority of them may be dated between A.D. 550 and 642.[1] As may be seen from our frontispiece, they are generally of very high merit. It is true that the larger pieces are not perfect in composition: the parts of the design are apt to be loosely co-ordinated, their rhythm slightly inharmonious. But otherwise they are admirable. The designs are full of vigour and variety; the drawing is bold and accurate, with a brilliant flow of long sinuous line, and the work throughout is instinct with the sympathetic delight of the true artist in nature and beauty. The spirit is much the same as that which is expressed in the stones of Bharhut and Sanchi; but there is a subtle influence

[1] They are to a large extent reproduced by Mr. J. Griffiths in *The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajuntâ* (1896–97).

from Gandhara in the tempered grace of the rich line and the stately portraits of the Buddha.

The process by which these paintings were executed appears to have been one of fresco, supplemented sometimes by one of tempera, when they were touched up on the dry surface. The walls were overlaid with a paste made of clay, cow-dung, and powdered trap-rock, from $\frac{1}{8}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. deep, and over this, as well as over all the sculptured details in the chambers, was spread a thin coating of fine white plaster. Upon the latter while it was moist the outlines were probably transferred by pouncing. They were then drawn in red, and a thin monochrome of terraverde was apparently laid on. The local colour was next put in, and the outlines were then emphasised by black or brown, with some shading in places.

A similar process seems to have been followed in the paintings of Surguja. At Bagh, in Gwalior State, there are some cave-paintings, perhaps of the sixth or seventh century A.D., which in style are like those of Ajanta, and seem to have been executed by the same method. Sigiriya in Ceylon, the fastness of Kassapa I, is remarkable for a series of twenty-one beautiful female figures painted on the walls of its rock-chambers, probably about the end of the fifth century, apparently by a tempera process, but otherwise similar in style to those of Ajanta. Two or three slight relics of ancient paintings have been found elsewhere in Ceylon. And this, unhappily, seems to be all that Hindustan and Ceylon have preserved of the masterworks of their ancient painters

2. *Discoveries in Central Asia.*—The recent explorations of Chinese Turkestan by Sir M. Aurel Stein and the other scholars who have followed him thither have enormously widened our knowledge of the history and culture of those regions. To the history of Indian painting new and important chapters have been added by



A Bōdhi-sattva (Gandhara statuette)

(see page 258)

the discovery of numerous wall-paintings and pictures upon wooden panels, silk, and other fabrics. Some hundreds of Buddhist hieratic paintings on silk and linen, many of them perfect and executed in the best style, are at the present moment deposited in the British Museum. Most of them seem to belong to the period between the ninth and eleventh centuries A.D., and their style varies from comparatively pure Gandharan design to a completely Chinese mode of treatment, thus bridging over the gulf that formerly lay between the parent Buddhist art of India and its descendants in China and Japan. Descriptions and illustrations are given in Sir Aurel Stein's *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, and a more detailed account will be furnished in his *Serindia*, now in the press. Dr. von Le Coq's sumptuous *Chotscho* may also be compared.

But even more precious are the wall-paintings and panel-pictures of Turkestan. Many of them have already been described and illustrated in Dr. von Le Coq's *Chotscho* and Sir Aurel Stein's *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, *Ancient Khotan*, and *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, and more will be given in the latter's forthcoming *Serindia*. Some are in a hieratic style similar to that of the paintings on silk and linen; but others are freer, and almost secular in treatment, revealing a phase of art, obviously Indian in character, of which hitherto we had no suspicion. The most striking example is the group reproduced in our Plate XXV from the wall-paintings of Dandan Uiliq (*Ancient Khotan*, vol. i., p. 253, vol. ii. pl. 2), which is not later than the eighth century, and probably is considerably earlier. The strong yet graceful flow of line, that expresses with the utmost economy and yet with perfect mastery the mystic calm of the ascetic and the voluptuous vivacity of the woman, could hardly be surpassed. Very fine also are the figures on the frieze and dado of Miran depicted in *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. i., plates 146–148, which may be as early as the fourth century. There is much in these designs which vividly

recalls the Hellenistic styles of the Roman world; but their association here with paintings and statuary of obviously Gandharan origin makes it clear that the paintings of Miran and Dandan Uiliq belong to the Indo-Grecian school imported into Turkestan from India, the school of Gandhara.

Again, some of the Buddhist wall-paintings reproduced in von Le Coq's *Chotscho* have a marked affinity to the later frescoes of Ajanta; in certain cases, indeed, they are astoundingly similar in drawing, colour, and decoration, and differ only in minor points of local variation. As the Buddhist art of Turkestan is mainly based upon that of Gandhara, and these Ajanta-like paintings of Chotscho are merely a variety of the methods of painting commonly practised in Turkestan during this period, we are justified in claiming that the Gandhara art, in at least some of its branches, was inspired more deeply by the ancient tradition of Bharhut and Sanchi, and played a greater part in the origin of the Ajanta school, than is commonly imagined.

There is more of the local colour of Turkestan in some of the Stein panels, as may be seen from our Plates XXVI and XXVII (*Ancient Khotan*, vol. i., pp. 298, 300, vol. ii., plates 59, 63).[1] But if these be examined with care, it will be found that their method is fundamentally the same as that of the paintings of Dandan Uiliq and Miran, and they are only a variety of Gandharan art adapted to the circumstances of Turkestan.

The wall-paintings of Turkestan as a rule seem to have been executed in tempera, upon a thin dry layer of white clay, spread over a compound of chopped straw, grass, or rushes, clay, etc., and washed over with colour. The design was outlined upon this surface, probably by

[1] The scene depicted on Plate XXVI is the legend of the introduction of silkworms into Khotan from China by a Chinese princess. The Chinese law forbade their exportation, and the princess (the central figure on the panel) smuggled them out in her headdress, to which the figure on the left is pointing, while the figure on the right is at work on a loom.

pouncing, and local colours were put in, sometimes with washes for shading, after which the outlines were drawn in red-brown or black. Details, such as the red of the lips and the colouring of the eyes, were apparently added later. For panel-paintings the surface was prepared by overlaying wooden boards with white pigment, upon which the designs were painted in the same manner as upon the walls.

3. *Later Developments.*—Between the eighth century and the epoch beginning with the Mughal invasion, the history of painting in India itself is blank. The schools of painting imported by the Mughals into India, however, were those of Persia; and it seems very likely that the latter were founded upon the same methods which were employed in the Buddhist panels of Turkestan, combined with some influences in details from Chinese sources, and some likewise from the "Byzantine" or East Roman art adopted by the Arabs. Thus the art brought into India by the Mughals was a grandchild of the Gandharan school, returning to its ancestral home, where it struck new roots in the soil of the Hindu spirit.

Side by side with this Mughal art in India, there lived on an ancient native tradition, which sprang from the same source as that of Ajanta, and remained faithful to its primitive character. We know it only from its modern products, of which none are earlier than the fifteenth century, so that properly it lies beyond the scope of this book. But we may be permitted to call attention to it, for in the best works of the Rajput and Pahari schools,[1] even so late as the nineteenth century, there may be found a rhythm and sweep of line, a delicacy of colour and purity of artistic feeling, that make them worthy descendants of a glorious past.

[1] I follow here the division proposed by Dr. Coomaraswamy in his *Indian Drawings* and the *Burlington Magazine* of March, 1912, though I suspect that it needs some modification in detail and extension.

ADDENDA

P. 28. After line 26 add: "UMĀ. The consort of Śiva. See *Śiva.*"

37. For a critical examination of the texts of the Puranic genealogies on this and the following pages see Mr. Pargiter's recent work, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.*

On the dates 563 and 483 B.C., see the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912, p. 240.

39. On the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty, see *ibid.*, 1909, p. 27; 1912, p. 240.

41. On Menander and his alleged conquests, see *ibid.*, 1912, p. 791; and on Khāravēla's date, *ibid.*, 1910, p. 828.

42. The date of Kanishka has been fully discussed, *ibid.*, 1912 and 1913. On Moga and the satraps of Taksha-śilā, see *ibid.*, 1907, p. 1014.

44. As regards the relations between Chashṭana and Viḷivāyakura and those between Rudra-dāman and Pulumāvi, see *ibid.*, 1910, p. 821; 1912, p. 786.

46. On the date of Samudra-gupta's accession, see *ibid.*, 1909, p. 342. The Allahabad inscription, describing his conquests, dates from about 375.

53. A late record gives the following incorrect pedigree of the W. Chālukyas of Kalyani from Pulakēśin's younger son Neḍa-mari: the latter's son Āditya-varman, his son Vikramāditya I, his son Yuddha-malla, his son Vijayāditya, his son Vikramāditya II, his son Kīrti-varman II, Vikramāditya II's brother Bhīma, his son Kīrti-varman III, his son Taila I, his son Vikramāditya III, his son Bhīma, his son Ayyaṇa I, his son Vikramāditya IV, his son Taila II.

73. Lattalūr is Latur, in the Nizam's Dominions.

80. Tagara is now Ter, in the Nizam's Dominions.

194. Note 1. This note may be deleted.

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

Chāl. = Chālukya. Rā. = Rāshṭrakūṭa.
k. = king. s. = son.

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